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ERRATA, VOLUME 49

- p. 7 Wensley. The dimensions of the Roman fort should be 130 m. by 100 m., giving an internal area of 1.3 ha (3.25 acres).
- pp. 124-5 In the Table the figures for gold plate assayed for William Astley in 1809 should read 29.11.0 and those for silver plate assayed for Christopher Watson should read: 1817: 1.16.12; 1818: . . .; 1819: 4.6.12; 1820: 12.4.12; and 1821: 0.3.0.

The Society wishes it to be understood that responsibility for opinions and material contained in articles, notes and reviews is that of their authors alone, to whom any resulting correspondence should be addressed.

THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL, VOLUMES 1-50

By the President
GORDON C. F. FORSTER

It is a pleasure for me to welcome this fiftieth volume of the Society's *Journal*. The bulky series which has accumulated on the shelves since 1869 forms a substantial body of material for the study of the prehistory and history of Yorkshire.

At first the *Journals* were edited by the Society's honorary secretary, but the separate office of editor was instituted in 1906, and since then there have only been five editors, a surprisingly small number which reflects the praiseworthy diligence and devotion of the incumbents: H. B. McCall (1906-1934); J. W. Houseman (1935-54); L. P. Wenham (1954-68); D. W. Crossley (1969-73); and R. M. Butler (1974-). The appearance of the *Y.A.J.* changed little for almost the first hundred years of the publication's life, for it was only in 1967 that the present format was adopted, initially for volume 42; up to that time the *Journal* was published in annual parts, between two and four of which normally comprised a volume, but in 1971 the first of the present series of annual volumes (vol. 43) was published. Thus, although the Society was founded only a few years before the *Y.A.J.* began, it was able to celebrate its centenary in 1963, while the *Journal* is only half way to that anniversary, at least in terms of whole volumes published.

It is a tribute to the activities, thirst for knowledge and far-sightedness of the Society's earliest members that during the 1860s they felt the need for a publication as a permanent record of their work and transactions. They therefore founded the *Journal*, to treat of 'original discoveries' and 'unpublished documents', and to be 'a medium for the collection of facts and documents not hitherto published relating to the history and antiquities of the County and to its men and women'.¹ The first volume issued included a wide range of material about the county's past: there were notes on ornaments, flints, coins, graves and incised stones, as well as descriptions of stained glass and mural monuments; there was an account of a Roman station and a note on bloomeries; some pedigrees and epitaphs were printed; there was a discussion of sources for topography, as well as material about notable families; the documents printed included some Civil War papers, the seventeenth-century book of rates for the West Riding and the burial register of York Minster. The contents of ensuing volumes were of a similar character and laid the foundations of the *Journal* as a storehouse of information about local archaeology and history.

They also set a pattern which was followed, with remarkably few innovations, throughout the next seventy years, from the 1870s to the 1930s, during which time thirty volumes were completed.² Their contents, moreover, naturally reflected the interests and pre-occupations of their times. There was a steady stream of short notes describing, often with a wealth of supplementary detail, a variety of artefacts: bells, brasses, heraldic shields, effigies, bosses. The growing interest in archaeological excavation led first to a multiplicity of notes on individual finds and eventually to full-scale excavation reports, usually prepared by amateurs. As developments in public and private transport made touring easier, members could turn to the *Journal* for antiquarian notes and sometimes architectural descriptions giving details of Yorkshire's historic churches and castles. Genealogical interests too had been strong from the first and were always well represented, sometimes by pedigrees of local families, often by lengthy biographical accounts of important landowners and highly-placed ecclesiastics. The transcription and publication of documents went on steadily: in

¹ *Y.A.J.*, 1 (1870), preface and p. vi; J. W. Walker, *The History of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society* (n.d. but c. 1945), pp. 7-8.

² For a detailed list see *Analytical Index of the Contents of the first thirty volumes of the Society's Journal*, comp. H. Lawrence (Leeds, 1939).

addition to various deeds and charters, there were useful editions of lay subsidy rolls and military records of the Civil War, together with R. H. Skaife's much-used text of Domesday Book.³ On the other hand, as early as the 1880s the *Journal* had ceased to be the only means of publishing documents, for after a report made in 1884 the Society's Record Series was inaugurated, quickly establishing itself and taking over the lion's share of that vital work. Consequently there was more space in the *Journal* for papers written by members and others.

Among those who contributed important work to the *Journal*, mainly on the county's antiquities, were J. Bilson, W. Brown, S. J. Chadwick, J. W. Clay, the Revd. C. V. Collier, the Revd. J. T. Fowler and J. T. Micklethwaite. Above all, the first thirty volumes included a number of notable contributions which attracted (and in some cases continue to attract) the attention of archaeologists or historians working all over the country or even overseas. One was W. G. Collingwood's detailed and influential survey of Anglian and Danish sculpture in the county,⁴ a major work which in many respects has needed no revision. It had a valuable counterpart in W. M. I'Anson's survey of medieval military effigies.⁵ Though somewhat less enduring, A. D. H. Leadman's accounts of several Yorkshire battles were interesting in themselves and have formed a useful starting-point for modern enquiries.⁶ Military and political activity does not, however, bulk large in the contents of the *Journal*, but the paper by H. B. McCall on the rising in the North, 1569–70, and that by A. M. Evans on Yorkshire in 1688, both deserve to be recalled.⁷ Nevertheless, in a journal devoted to a county as rich as Yorkshire is in monastic remains it is perhaps fitting that three of the most outstanding contributions, all by W. H. St. John Hope, should be detailed descriptions of three major religious houses: Easby, Fountains and Jervaulx.⁸ These important papers on monastic architecture quickly gained a secure place in the literature of the subject and reflected credit on the *Journal* and the Society which had published them.

Obviously by no means all the papers in the *Journal* reached the standard of the most important items and some would not command a place in the Y.A.J. today. Moreover, although the amateur antiquarian and local historian had, and happily still has, an honoured place in the tradition and life of the county societies, since the first World War the professional has played a more prominent part. By the 1920s professionalism is increasingly evident in the pages of the *Journal*; the twenty volumes published since the mid-30s have therefore included a growing proportion of articles by professional scholars.⁹

Short notes of an antiquarian character, or brief accounts of the finds produced by amateur 'digs', slowly gave way to more solid and comprehensive surveys and to reports of systematic excavations carried out by recognised archaeologists, among them Ian Richmond, who reported on Cawthorne Camps and Meltham.¹⁰ Dr. Arthur Raistrick began to contribute papers on the archaeology and topography of the Dales, and an economic historian at Manchester, T. S. Willan, published an analysis of the Commonwealth parliamentary surveys of royal estates in the North Riding, a contribution to the county's agrarian history.¹¹ Among other professional scholars one of the most regular and prolific contributors was the Librarian of the House of Lords, the late C. T. (later Sir Charles) Clay, our Past-President, who admittedly continued the older tradition of family history and biographical studies of ecclesiastical and secular office-holders, but brought this kind of historical writing

³ Y.A.J., 13–14 (1895–8).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 19–21, 23 (1906–11).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 27–29 (1903–7).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 7, 8, 10, 11 (1882–91). These were collected and published as *Proelia Eboracensia, Battles fought in Yorkshire* (London, 1891).

⁷ Y.A.J., 18, 29 (1905, 1928).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 10, 15, 21 (1889, 1900, 1911).

⁹ For a detailed list see *Analytical Index of the Contents of the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, volumes XXXI–XL*, comp. Amy G. Foster (Leeds, 1963); see also Y.A.J., 41–50 (1966–78).

¹⁰ Y.A.J., 27–29 (1923–8).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 31 (1934).

to unprecedented heights of scholarly exactitude. The stream of articles on landowners and diocesan dignitaries from Clay's pen was accompanied by occasional editions of shorter texts, which complemented his *Early Yorkshire Charters* and other volumes in the Record Series.¹² Another distinguished contributor was A. Hamilton Thompson, a professor at Leeds, whose work on the registers of the medieval archdeaconry of Richmond is of permanent value.¹³ Finally, in another series of important additions to our knowledge of the county's ecclesiastical history, A. G. Dickens (an Oxford don who later became a professor successively at Hull and London) wrote pioneering articles which explored the religious and social aftermath in Yorkshire of the Henrician breach with Rome and which established the extent and character of Romanist recusancy in the county during Elizabethan times.¹⁴

Without breaking with its earlier traditions, therefore, the character of the *Y.A.J.* slowly changed, as more substantial articles, often with a wider significance, came to dominate its pages. In particular, since the later 1930s the *Journal* has become the much respected vehicle for the publication of major excavation reports: prehistoric sites at Barnby Howes, Driffeld, Grafton, Kildale, Roomer Common and Thornborough Circles, to mention only a few; some of the most important of the county's Roman sites, including Aldborough, Catterick, Doncaster, Rudston, Well and York. These and other reports brought into the *Journal's* pages the work of some of the country's best-known archaeologists: P. Ashbee, T. C. M. Brewster, P. Corder, R. Gilyard-Beer, E. J. W. Hildyard, T. G. Manby, J. N. L. Myres, P. A. Rahtz, H. G. Ramm, I. M. Stead, N. Thomas, W. V. Wade, D. M. Waterman, L. P. Wenham and A. M. Woodward. No other county journal can have a more impressive list.¹⁵ An annual register of archaeological finds made in Yorkshire was commenced in 1962 at the instance of H. G. Ramm and has formed a regular feature of subsequent volumes. In recent years it has been compiled in collaboration with C.B.A. Group 4.

At the same time the last twenty volumes of the *Y.A.J.* show another shift of emphasis in the traditional preoccupations of its contributors, away from church antiquities towards more wide-ranging work on the county's ecclesiastical history in general. Thus in addition to the papers by Professor Hamilton Thompson on the medieval Church, there are studies of the friars and of chantries in the county, by L. M. Goldthorpe and M. A. Riley respectively,¹⁶ and of the career of Archbishop Neville, by R. G. Davies.¹⁷ Since Professor Dickens' papers, however, the post-Reformation Church has secured less attention in the *Journal*, apart from the researches of C. J. Kitching on the dissolution of the East Yorkshire chantries and of D. M. Palliser on amalgamated parishes (and redundant churches!) in Tudor York.¹⁸ By contrast it is the two centuries after 1600 which have produced the *Y.A.J.'s* most significant contributions to the study of county, and in a sense, therefore, of national, politics. Several papers analyse elections in parliamentary boroughs, including Aldborough, Knaresborough and Richmond;¹⁹ there are also biographical studies of some of Charles I's opponents in the county²⁰; and there are two detailed accounts, one of Monck, Fairfax and the position in Yorkshire on the eve of Restoration, the other of post-Restoration plotting in the county, by A. H. Woolrych (now professor at Lancaster) and J. Walker respectively.²¹ Nor does the tally end there, for K. Darwin has published a study of John Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer and owner of Fountains and Studley Royal, C. Collyer has contributed

¹² See the bibliography of Sir Charles Clay's work in his *Notes on the Family of Clere* (Wakefield, 1975), pp. 31-36.

¹³ *Y.A.J.*, 25, 30, 32 (1920, 1931, 1936).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 33-38 (1936-55).

¹⁵ References to recent excavation reports will be found in Foster, *op. cit.* in n.9, pp. 7, 15-16 and *passim*.

¹⁶ *Y.A.J.*, 32, 33 (1934-8).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 47 (1975).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 44, 46 (1972-4).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 34, 44, 49 (1939, 1972, 1977). See also *ibid.*, 26 (1922).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 31, 43 (1934, 1971).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 31, 39 (1934, 1958).

an important paper on Yorkshire and the '45, and both N. C. Phillips and Professor I. R. Christie have examined the rôle of Christopher Wyvill and the origins of the parliamentary reform movement in the county and the country.²²

These published modern researches into political history were matched for several years after the last war by articles which reflected the growing interest in the serious study of topography. Pride of place must be given to the thoroughly-documented, major papers by M. W. Beresford (a professor at Leeds) on deserted villages and on the progress of enclosures, depopulating or otherwise.²³ This work was followed by other contributions which blended topography and economic history: A. Harris' papers on aspects of East Riding farming and the landscape, articles by B. F. Waites on the medieval geography of wealth in the North Riding, as well as writings by others on enclosures, estates and parks in the West Riding.²⁴

These changes of emphasis have been accompanied by rapidly increasing interest in archaeology and local history among the population at large, as well as in universities, colleges, adult classes and schools. This presents the Society and its *Journal* with an opportunity. Unfortunately, however, there are two major problems to be faced: cost and content.

The steadily rising cost of printing poses great difficulties for a *Journal* which is dependent largely on income from subscriptions, the proceeds of which must be shared amongst competing claims—headquarters, library, publications, staff. The *Y.A.J.*, moreover, needs to be sufficiently large to include articles on a very wide range of subjects, to appeal to the varied interests of members; it also has to be as well illustrated as possible. Clearly, therefore, the editor and the Council must be careful to ensure that funds are not wasted on verbosity or on unnecessarily elaborate presentation. As far as is consistent with good quality of production, we shall have to take full advantage of the cheaper methods of printing now becoming available. Without undermining sound academic standards, we shall undoubtedly have to publish excavation reports by the less elaborate and less costly methods recently advocated by the Ancient Monuments Board and the C.B.A.

Content is not only a different kind of problem; it is one the solution to which is partly in the hands of our own members. From time to time the criticism is advanced that the *Y.A.J.* is too hidebound and contains nothing to interest many of our members, especially those who are drawn towards modern history. While the foregoing review of the first fifty volumes surely establishes that the character of the *Journal* has changed, in some ways very considerably, it is perhaps undeniable that for all the hard work of editors and contributors alike the *Y.A.J.* still has in some respects an old-fashioned air. The recent tables of contents show some surprising gaps, especially in view of work known to be in progress in Yorkshire and in other counties. The *Y.A.J.* does reflect the growing interest in medieval archaeology. But there is a disappointing absence of archaeological discussion papers, synthesising and interpreting the solid excavation reports of the past. Furthermore, in a society and a journal which for many years carried the word 'topography' in their titles, it is surprising that the publication of serious topography seems lately to have petered out, and that the pages of the *Journal* show little sign of recent organised fieldwork or of the study of the making of the landscape in general. Similarly, descriptions of individual buildings, especially vernacular buildings, have not been matched by systematic surveys of types or districts.

But perhaps the most serious criticisms can be made of local history in the *Y.A.J.* Despite the current interests of historians all over the country, the *Journal* has not attracted many recent articles on farming or on the county's great landed estates, neither does it reveal much sign of the contemporary enthusiasm for the local history of population and social structure or of literacy and education. There is still a great need for the publication of research into politics and elections, especially after the Reform Act of 1832. The history of local govern-

²² *Ibid.*, 38, 40 (1955, 1962).

²³ *Ibid.*, 37–38 (1948–55).†

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 38, 40, 43, 44, 47, 49 (1952–7).

ment has produced disappointingly few papers save those on manorial organisation in Nidderdale, Ripon and Riponshire by T. S. Gowland, and in Halifax by Miss M. J. Ellis, as well as that by J. S. Cockburn on the North Riding J.P.s in the earlier eighteenth century.²⁵ More surprisingly, perhaps, the now fashionable study of urban history has barely been reflected in the pages of the *Y.A.J.*, which has moreover published astonishingly little on the industrial history and archaeology of Yorkshire.

These deficiencies are unquestionably serious. They are not likely to be remedied quickly or easily, for the editor has no magic wand. But until some appreciable progress is made towards filling these gaps in the *Journal's* coverage, it will be impossible to conclude that the county's historians are fully engaged with current interests and research in general English, regional or local history. There is plainly much work to be done on the prehistory and history of Yorkshire; one hopes that the next fifty volumes of the *Journal* will be able to make that work available to an ever-widening readership, for the interest of the subject and the labours of past contributors demand no less.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 32, 33, 35 (1936-43); 40 (1962); 41 (1963-6).

THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER: 1977

COMPILED BY S. MOORHOUSE

PREHISTORIC

ARKENGARThDALE (provenance unknown) Mrs R. Hartley reports the finding of a Neolithic axe of Langdale Ash 18.01 cm long, 6 cm wide at the blade and barely 3 cm thick. Information from Mr. E. Cooper.

BARMBy MOOR (SE 796497) During fieldwalking in 1975 W. A. MacKay found part of a polished stone axe possibly of diorite, a leaf-shaped flint arrowhead, a petit tranchet derivative arrowhead, two scrapers, one possibly a fabricator, and a rough worked blade.

BINGLEY, BINGLEY MOOR S. W. Feather reports the identification of three new groups of cup and ring marked rocks. These, together with two others previously published (S. W. Feather, *Bradford Archaeology Group Bulletin* 6 (1961), pp. 39-40) constitute a small compact group on the southern slopes of Rombalds Moor.

—, STANBURY HILL (SE 112432) Denuded remains of a cairn 3 m in diameter and 0.35m high incorporate one cup and two cup and ring marked stones with a further cup marked rock adjacent.

—, STANBURY HILL (SE 111433) One cup and two cup and ring marked stones were until recently covered with vegetation.

—, CABIN HILL (SE 117424) A cup marked rock.

BOLTBy (SE 507869) W. A. MacKay found a leaf-shaped flint arrowhead, flakes and a core during fieldwalking in 1974.

BRIESTFIELD (SE 228172) P. Webster reports that fieldwalking by members of the Calder Valley Archaeological Group around the village over the past two years has produced flints in the Carr Lane area (SE 245177), including Neolithic scrapers and Mesolithic flakes, among them a possible utilised flake from a tranchet axe. Recent finds included a fragment from a possibly Neolithic stone axe. Much pottery found ranged in date from the medieval period to the seventeenth century. Finds are held by the Group.

COLLINGHAM, DALTON PARLOURS (SE 402445) In advance of plough destruction excavations by the West Yorkshire County Archaeological Unit continued over 1.43 ha. (3.5 acres). Artefacts of Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age date were recovered. The earliest structures located were of the Iron Age, when a palisaded area preceded an extensive settlement of linked irregular ditched enclosures, with timber round-houses, sunken hearths, bath-shaped storage pits and four-post structures. The overlying Roman villa re-used Iron Age boundary ditches (see Roman section).

COMMONDALE (NZ 64950982) Ploughing to the north of Wayworth Farm disturbed a stone slab. Examination by S. White showed the site to be a previously unknown stone-lined and capped cist, lying to the south of the well known Bronze Age field system but showing no surface indications of a ring ditch. The cist was excavated under his direction: it was filled with boulder clay and found to contain fragments of skull and a tooth. It measured 113 cm long and 51 cm at its widest point. Its construction became clear when it was removed for farming purposes. A gully 5 cm wide surrounded the sides of a pit dug to accommodate the side stones; the base was formed by stones laid down once the sides had been positioned. The cap stone measured 108 cm by 51 cm and 12.75 cm thick.

EGTON, EGTON HIGH MOOR (SE 793996) S. White reports that 45 flint flakes and microliths have been found to the east of Shunter Howe. All are of the usual grey-brown Flamborough flint except for a blade of red Scottish flint, from a beach pebble. There are no cores or scrapers.

—, WHEELDALE MOOR (SE 789987) S. White reports that a collection of flints was recovered from an area to the west of Raben Stones. They include six cores, one scraper and 31 assorted flakes, all of Flamborough flint, together with a curious red flint, apparently a petit tranchet arrowhead with a prominent peak to the body.

FREMIINGTON EDGE (NZ 033016) Mrs. A. Hamilton reports foundations of hut circles of Iron Age date at various points near this grid reference.

GREAT AYTON (NZ 519108, 527113) Miss M. M. Brown reports that a rectangular and a sub-rectangular enclosure, probably of prehistoric date, showed up as crop marks in August.

GUISBOROUGH (NZ 585136) A flint scatter site was revealed by systematic fieldwalking at Bousdale Farm by J. Barret, G. Crawford and members of Saltburn W.E.A. branch. Implements found were two flint cores from which small blades had been struck, three small 'thumbnail' scrapers with very steep retouch, a retouched blade, a 'snapped' blade, and many flint chips with no visible working. The assemblage is consistent with an early Bronze Age date.

—, (NZ 617138) S. White reports that Mrs. B. Earle of Hutton Gate found what appears to be the broken butt of an axe of volcanic rock at Highcliff Gate in 1976. It appears to be badly burnt.

HAMBLETON DOWN Air photographs of ploughed-out lengths of the Cleave Dyke were taken by D. A. Spratt and D. R. Brown. At SE 51108828 a circular crop mark appears attached to the dyke; on the ground this was seen as a hollow 9 m in diameter and 1 m deep at the centre, littered with the same limestone debris which marks the position of the dyke. At SE 51328438 the dyke crop mark shows a series of separate circular marks, indicating that at some stage it had been a pit alignment and confirming early field work (H. Denny, *Proc. Yorkshire Phil. Polytechnic Soc.* (1865), p. 501). This observation might suggest that the dyke is a prehistoric feature, similar to those in East Yorkshire.

HAWNBY, ARDEN MOOR (SE 500947) Air photography by D. A. Spratt and D. R. Brown revealed an extensive prehistoric settlement on the south side of Wheat Beck. It comprises a series of fields, cairns and tumuli, enclosures of orthostatic construction, and a circular stone enclosure 13 m in diameter, probably containing a hut. The tumbled stone field banks up to 400 m long are at right angles to the beck; cross walls perpendicular to these form a series of small rectangular fields. Their layout is symmetrical with the surviving field system on the opposite bank of the Wheat Beck. The complex to the south of the beck appears to be prehistoric, probably Bronze Age or later. It is being surveyed by J. C. Barrett, Leeds University.

HUNDERTWAITE, HUNDERTHWAITE MOOR, MOOR, BLAKE HILL (NY 937202) S. W. Feather reports a cup and ring marked rock.

HUTTON RUDBY (NZ 447034) R. Inman reports that the lower stone of a beehive quern of Millstone Grit was ploughed up immediately to the north of Hutton Field House. The diameter of the well-worn working surface was 13½ in., the thickness varied from 5 to 6 in. and the diameter of the flat base was 12 in. There was a central hole in the working surface 1 in. in diameter and depth.

ILKLEY, GREEN CRAG SLACK (centred SE 131461) R. E. Yarwood reports that the survey of cup and ring marked rocks, walling and other standing monuments on the northern edge of Ilkley Moor (*Register* 1976, pp. 3-4) has continued. It is hoped to produce a report during 1978.

KETTLEWELL (SD 98297092) D. Williams for the Craven Museum reports the finding by B. Richardson of a small perforated whetstone on a limestone terrace between a hut circle and a surrounding boundary wall. The find has been deposited in the Craven Museum, Skipton.

KEPWICK (SE 49059198) During fieldwalking in 1973-4 W. A. MacKay found a discoidal knife of orange flint, 51 mm by 43 mm by 8 mm, one end bifacially ground, and a flint blade.

——, (SE 493094) A leaf-shaped flint knife was found in 1974 by W. A. MacKay.

KIRKLINGTON (SE 326828) S. White reports that a polished flint axe was found by Mrs. J. Fothergill in 1976. The axe is in perfect condition with a cream patination, 14 cm long, 4.4 cm thick and 6 cm wide at the blade. It is of a red coastal flint. An examination of the field in November 1977 produced no further finds. In the possession of the finder.

LAVERTON, CASTILES FARM (SE 204715) Mrs. R. Hartley reports that the bottom stone of a beehive quern was found built into the farm wall. Slightly less than half the stone had been cut away but the pivot hole was intact. Retained at the farm.

LINTON (SE 38984756) Miss M. L. Faull reports that Mr. W. Robinson of Craig Hall Farm turned up a beehive quern of Millstone Grit while ploughing. It is now in the farmhouse garden. A number of stone slabs were also turned up in the area, which appeared to have been the site of a fire.

MARTON (NZ 506151) Miss M. M. Brown reports that a fragment of a polished Neolithic axe 7.2 cm long and 5 cm at its widest point was found during the insertion of a new road.

MOOR MONKTON (SE 506555) An end scraper of Wolds flint 5.02 cm long was found while walking the pipeline from the Ouse to the Wharfe. In Harrogate Museum.

MURTON (SE 51948821) Air photography by D. A. Spratt and D. R. Brown in 1976 revealed a circular crop mark of 20 m radius, probably marking a ploughed-out round barrow. Small marks within the circle indicate pits or postholes. The position on the crest of a ridge commanding long views in all directions is typical of that of a barrow. A mutilated round barrow (radius 10 m) stands 100 m south-south-west of the crop mark. Inspection of the field in winter revealed only crude waste flint, prolific in these fields, and a dense ovoid hammerstone, well used, of sandstone, conspicuously intrusive in this limestone area, and now in Ryedale Folk Museum.

NORTH RIGTON (SE 26235002) Mrs. R. Hartley reports the finding of the bottom stone of a beehive quern 30.5 cm in diameter and 12 cm deep. A pivot hole 2.4 cm wide at the top and 3.5 cm deep is offset from the centre. The face shows wear of the top stone. It is of light buff gritstone and is retained at High Moor Farm.

——, (SE 26425017) Mrs. R. Hartley reports the finding of a well shaped and polished flint axe of grey mottled flint. It is 12.2 cm long, 6.2 cm wide at the blade, 5.2 cm at the butt, and 2 cm thick. The corner of the blade and butt are damaged, the sides are slightly concave, and the section a pointed oval. Retained at High Moor Farm.

NUNBURNHOLME (SE 820491) During fieldwalking in 1971-7 W. A. MacKay found part of a parallel-sided polished axe in fine greyish stone, a chip from another, possibly in Langdale stone, 12 flat scrapers (one large), many flakes, a core and hammerstones. All are in the finder's possession.

PICKHILL (SE 335830) S. White reports that Mrs. J. Fothergill found a backed flint blade with white patination. A further search revealed no more finds.

POCKLINGTON (SE 796497) W. A. MacKay found five scrapers, one in black flint, during fieldwalking in 1973.

SEAMER, SEAMER CARR (NZ) 487098) D. A. Spratt reports that a Neolithic flint axe was ploughed up on the site of the prehistoric lake. It is 11.5 cm long, 6 cm wide at the shoulder, 4 cm at the butt and 1.5 cm thick. The axe is of mottled grey Wolds flint, polished up to 3 cm from the cutting edge, and slightly damaged in use.

STONEBECK UP, SOUTH HAW (SE 088788) About 5000 flint and chert flakes, core tools, wasters and some microliths have been collected from a small area, found by Miss M. O. R. Collins, Pateley Bridge. The area invites attention from Mesolithic experts.

THWING, PADDOCK HILL (TA 030707) A fifth season of excavation of this small circular hillfort (*Register* 1976, pp. 4-5) was directed by T. G. Manby for the Prehistory Research Section of the Y.A.S., in collaboration with Sewerby Hall Museum and the North Wolds Borough Council. The area examined comprised two-thirds of the central building and zones immediately east and south of it. This area had been affected by a shallow trench, 4 m wide, of uncertain date, that crossed the central building from the north-west. A small inhumation cemetery was also located: three overlapping graves had disturbed earlier burials in the north-eastern corner of the area examined. The graves were aligned east-west and contained extended inhumations in coffins, indicated by iron nails and fittings; the cemetery extends northwards.

The central building was circular, 26 m in diameter, enclosed by a bedding trench 0.5-0.8 m wide for a continuous setting of timbers, 0.5 m in diameter, leaving an entrance gap 1.7 m wide in the south-eastern side. Within the entrance was a pair of slots for a horizontal timber with a post at the outer extremity. An inner ring of post-holes, 16 m in diameter, held pairs of posts spaced 4 m apart and had a pair of larger posts opposite the entrance. An earlier ring of postholes occupied the intervals between the paired posts. Among the hollows and small post-holes in the centre of the structure a third ring of holes was partly traceable. At the centre was a horseshoe-shaped depression filled with brown soil with a crescent-shaped setting of chalk slabs. Immediately east of this a pit dug through the brown soil and into the solid chalk below contained a cremation burial in a carinated vessel covered with chalk slabs. On the southern side of the central building a length of worn chalk gravel floor survived; on its surface was a sandstone block with sharpening grooves.

The Bronze Age date of the site was again supported by a prolific quantity of ceramic material. Large numbers of loom weight fragments were found in the postholes at the entrance of the building; two were complete and all had a rectangular form with a single perforation. Bronze finds were a double pointed awl, a bar toggle, a penannular ring with folded outer terminals, small fragments of cut sheet and a long slender rivet. The flint industry again consisted of many finely worked scrapers, plano-convex knives and double-edged knives, represented by fragments. Among utilised stones were a complete saddle quern made from a quartzite block, two rubbing-stones, hammerstones and a sharpening stone.

A geophysical survey was continued by A. Aspinall and J. Pocock of Bradford University. A detailed study of the outer ditch adjoining the north-western gate, excavated in 1976, indicated a significant narrowing of the ditch at this point. A survey of a rectangular enclosure appearing as a crop mark east of the hillfort was completed and the course of linear earthworks traced towards Wold Newton. The study of the Thwing sites in their landscape was continued by a tracing of earthworks in the parish.

TICKHILL, STONE Excavation by B. Dolby of a rock shelter has produced flints which are probably Upper Palaeolithic (Creswellian) in date. Faunal remains include several horse teeth. The finds are with the excavator.

WESTERDALE, CROWN END (NZ 668074) Iron cinders were found in the structure of the stone wall of the enclosure adjacent to the cairnfield. Mineralogical examination proved them to be waste products of a small bowl furnace as used for smelting in the Iron Age. The enclosure must therefore be of Iron Age or later date. For full details see N. H. Harbord and D. A. Spratt in *J. Hist. Metall. Soc.* 9 no. 1 (1975), p. 32.

YARM (NZ 450076) Accidentally incorporated in the clay dump of a medieval building was a polished green stone axe head, probably brought to the site with the clay to make up the platform. See Medieval section.

ROMANO-BRITISH

CASTLEFORD (SE 426258) In advance of development north of the parish church, excavations by the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit have located the main north-south road with several phases of military activity to the east. Unrelated defensive ditches, one enclosing a clay rampart surviving to a height of 1 m, limited three superimposed fortified areas. Much of the associated material was Flavian in date. Stone structures have been encountered, together with second-century pottery. Apart from one medieval building, Roman layers were generally overlaid by post-medieval deposits without evidence of intervening occupation.

COLLINGHAM, DALTON PARLOURS (SE 402445) The *floruit* of the Roman villa was probably within the third and fourth centuries. The previously lifted Medusa mosaic was shown to have belonged to a winged corridor house. Several of the stone building ranges featured hypocausts and painted wall plaster. See also Prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon sections.

HEMSWORTH (SE 426133) Mrs. P. Judkins, for Wakefield Art Gallery and Museums, reports that a gold stater of the Coritani was found in the garden of 16 Westcroft Road, Hemsworth, late in 1976. The coin, of the South Ferriby type, is dated to the late first century B.C. It is deposited in Wakefield City Museum.

HUTTONS AMBO Mrs. E. King, for the York Excavation Group, reports that a new site to the east of the Cram Beck has produced traces of fourth-century occupation with many types of Crambeck pottery. The nature of the occupation is not clear, as plough damage is severe, but finds include a bone hairpin, tesserae, fragments of firebars and part of a kiln dome, though as yet no structures suggest a pottery kiln. It is hoped to carry on work here over a number of seasons.

ILKLEY, CASTLE HILL (SE 116478) S. Kerry reports that a narrow trench cut by the North Eastern Gas Board up the hill revealed the western wall of the fort, standing 1.5 m high and very well preserved. The Antonine clay rampart was cut into by a post-Roman wall running parallel to the defences. A record section is held at the Manor House, Castle Yard, Ilkley.

KETTLEWELL (SD 963723) D. Williams, for the Craven Museum, reports the finding by T. Lister of a stone spindle whorl on Gate Cote Scar in an area of hut circles and small fields. It has been deposited in the Craven Museum.

KIRKBURN (SE 99655395) R. M. Butler, for RCHM, York, reports that much Roman pottery, largely fourth-century calcite-gritted ware, but including samian and colour-coated sherds, querns, as well as finds of other periods, is displayed in a small museum arranged at Southburn Farm by courtesy of Mr. J. S. Rymer. Many of the exhibits were collected by B. Hebblewhite from an area near the former Southburn Station, where extensive crop marks indicate a settlement.

NUNBURNHOLME (SE 820491) During fieldwalking W. A. MacKay found sherds of Huntcliffe ware, of second-fourth-century grey wares and of an amphora.

POCKLINGTON (SE 796497) During fieldwalking in 1973 W. A. MacKay found an incomplete bronze pin 6 cm long, an iron pin 6.5 cm long with a curved shank, both with thistle-shaped heads, sherds of Huntcliff ware, grey ware, Nene Valley dipped wares and of amphorae.

ROTHWELL, ROTHWELL HAIGH (SE 352297) A well, dated by pottery in the backfilling to the fourth century, was excavated by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Unit. The well, on coal measure sandstone, is inside a square ditched enclosure of unknown date, identified from the air as a soil mark by D. N. Riley. The shaft, approximately 2 m in diameter, was cut through sandstone for 10 m and through a further 2 m of shale. Waterlogged deposits 5 m thick provided leather and wooden artifacts including shoes, a bucket, a spade with iron sheath, pieces of structural timber and fragments of two turned wooden bowls. Samples of the vegetation and insect fauna were also recovered; preliminary results of analysis by S. Roe and P. Buckland suggest an open landscape in which arable and pastoral farming occurred.

STANLEY (SE 348243) Mrs. P. Judkins reports that an *Urbs Roma* type coin of 330–335 was found in Church Lane, Stanley.

WHARRAM PERCY (SE 858642) See Medieval section.

WHORLTON (NZ 482024) Roman pottery has been found in Whorlton churchyard on several occasions (*Register* 1976, p. 7). An excavation by R. Inman in the area of a proposed extension of the churchyard revealed a ditch 0.8 m wide and 0.2 m deep running north–south across the area, traced for 42 m. Its fill contained rim sherds of a sandy white mortarium (Gillam 278), a grey ware pigmy jar (probably Crambeck), and a grey/black shallow dish with a very high quartzite content. No medieval pottery was found and the ditch was therefore dated to the late fourth century. In the topsoil were rim fragments of a Crambeck 1a flanged dish, a samian body sherd, a rim of a locally made black ware jar, again with a high quartzite content, four other Roman type body sherds, five thirteenth-century sand-finished jar rims and many green-glazed fragments.

YORK The York Archaeological Trust, under the direction of P. V. Addyman, report the following results:

—, (SE 60585217) In *Aldwark* excavation was continued by M. Daniells and Miss H. Gibson within the eastern corner of the legionary fortress (*Register* 1976, p. 13). Remains of first-century timber buildings were recovered, as well as of their stone replacements from the early second century onwards.

—, (SE 60355173) In *High Ousegate* three holes 5 m deep necessary for the underpinning of No. 8 have cut through Roman levels, revealing substantial remains of two buildings.

—, (SE 60315109) At *Clementhorpe* the excavations started in 1976 were completed. The remains of a Roman villa or town house of the second–fourth centuries contained in one room a mosaic pavement recorded in 1851 but reburied (*Register* 1976, p. 7).

ROMAN ROAD SURVEYS

BINGLEY, HAINWORTH (SE 066386) A resistivity survey carried out by Bradford University Department of Archaeological Science to the south-east of the Guide Inn strongly suggested an alignment of the Littleborough-Ilkley road (Margary 720a) but this was not confirmed by auguring and a trench by S. Kerry for Bradford Metropolitan District Museums. A possible course to the east will be examined in 1978.

—, HARDEN (SE 071392-079385) The 'undoubted piece of Roman agger' on Harden Moor, regarded as a branch of Margary 720a but believed by J. J. Brigg and F. Villy to be part of another road (Margary 721), is now proved to be the latter by the discovery of features along a series of straight stretches linking it with a piece of agger recently discovered at Brass Castle (*Register* 1975, p. 3). These include pieces of agger between SE 071390 and SE 075385 (approx.), and short terraceways at SE 076385 and SE 079385.

—, (SE 076385) An excavation to the north of Ryecroft failed to find any Roman road remains on the terrace noted above, though natural gritstone within 0.3 m of the surface would have made an excellent, well drained foundation. Gritstones in nearby field walls are possibly removed road material.

—, (SE 085380) A section was cut across the agger at Brass Castle (above and *Register* 1976, p. 5) where scanty remains of the road were found in the form of an irregular band of sand up to 0.3 m thick and 4 m wide, with a south ditch 0.75 m wide and 0.73 m deep, having 0.15 m of brown sandy silt in the bottom. A field drain may have destroyed the north ditch. The whole band is set on natural clay.

HEATON (SE 115360) Two sections were cut west of Noon Nick. The first revealed only scanty remains in the form of a band of sand up to 0.23 m thick and 4.75 m wide, set on natural clay. The second section, 43 m west of the first at SE 114359, showed robbed but quite considerable remains of road material, composed of sandstone slabs and cobbles rammed into natural clay c. 0.10 m thick and 5 m wide. Field drains may have destroyed side ditches. These discoveries further modify the route of Margary 721 as noted in *Roman Roads in Britain* (1973), p. 407.

SADDLEWORTH, CASTLESHAW (SD 998096) A. R. Walker and D. Haigh directed the survey of an area adjacent to Castleshaw fort in a successful search for a link road from the main Roman road into the first fort's west gate.

SHIPLEY (SE 115360) A clearly marked agger 4.2-5.4 m wide and 0.3-0.45 m high, c. 120 m long, was noted west of Noon Nick on the Shipley-Heaton township boundary.

SHEFFIELD, BURBAGE MOOR (SK 250812-SK 291831) T. C. Welsh reports that remains suggesting a road, possibly of Roman construction, have been noted. Lengths with camber and lateral ditches occur between SK 25008125 and 25128117 as an incline approaching Winyards Nick from the north-west, between SK 260811 and 26388135 descending the east slopes of Carl Wark to Burbage Brook, and from SK 28108234 to 29078314. Between SK 25268115 and 25608110 the camber has been worn and broken by the ruts of later tracks which run alongside to the north; this stretch features about 50 m of kerbs. Fragments of camber occur at SK 269814, 27078174 and 27328167. A section with incline terrace, camber and some kerbing occurs on the west side of Houndkirk Moor Road, from SK 27638174 to 27928213, but the kerbed portion is duplicated elsewhere on that road and may be more recent. A possible continuation near Hathersage in Derbyshire (SK 243813-240812) suggests that, if Roman, it may link with the length of road from Brough-on-Noe to Shatton.

ANGLO-SAXON

COLLINGHAM, DALTON PARLOURS (SE 402445) Post-Roman settlement on the villa site comprised two categories of timber buildings so far unparalleled. Also found were a pagan Saxon cremation vessel and an inhumation, probably of the seventh century. There was no evidence of occupation after about the eighth century.

KIPPAX (SE 429312) Mrs. P. Judkins, for Wakefield Art Gallery and Museums reports that an annular brooch of probable seventh-century date has been found within a few yards of a similar brooch reported last year (*Register* 1976, p. 8). The brooch is of cast bronze, originally with an iron pin of which nothing remains. The ring is 72 mm in diameter and D-shaped in section, plain on its upper surface except for four evenly spaced groups of raised parallel bands. In the finders' possession.

SWILLINGTON (SE 37372947) Construction of the Garforth-Kirkhamgate water trunk main cut the southern end of the projected line of Grim's Ditch (*Register* 1976, p. 8), south-east of Swillington Bridge and south of the A642 road. The dyke was observed in section as a ditch some 18 m wide, filled with extremely fine soft silt (the surrounding soil is a heavy clay). It was here surveyed by the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit. It is now apparent that the dyke must originally have finished on the River Aire.

WHARRAM PERCY (SE 858642) See Medieval section.

YORK (SE 60585217) Fronting *Aldwark* two buildings, one possibly of mortared stone construction, on an elaborately piled foundation, and dating to the eleventh-century, were excavated. A massive ditch some 8 m wide at the top and at least 7 m deep appeared to date from between the eleventh-century and the thirteenth-century; it contained the well-preserved remains of a wooden ladder.

—, (SE 60445168) Excavation at 16–22 *Coppergate* by R. Hall for the York Archaeological Trust (*Register* 1976, p. 14) uncovered three late tenth-century buildings, averaging 3 m by 7 m and surviving up to 1.8 m high. Their sunken, earthen floors were contained by square oak sill beams with horizontally laid plank walls supported by square internal uprights. Below them a series of wattle structures and a stone structure are now revealed. Associate finds include stone culture and wood carving. Further down the river terrace of the Foss, below a series of thirteenth–sixteenth-century structures, thick twelfth-century deposits did not contain any major building.

MEDIEVAL

BARWICK-IN-ELMET (SE 387384–SE 397381) A deep hollow-way known as Dark Lane was inspected by the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit. The hollow-way apparently served Barwick village and runs approximately east–west along a hilltop from SE 39643807 to SE 38833816 where it turns north and runs downhill to about SE 38843836. The ditch averages 10–15 ft. in width and 8–10 ft. in depth. For some parts of its length there is a ledge on the northern side.

—, SCHOLLS (SE 382364) Members of the Medieval Section of the Y.A.S., under the direction of R. E. Yarwood, have partly completed a survey of earthworks adjacent to this moated site. This forms part of a detailed survey of the township instigated by the County Archaeology Unit.

BEESTON (SE 285285–SE 300297) The boundary between Beeston and Middleton townships recorded as having been constructed in 1202 was checked on the ground by the County Archaeology Unit. It is still visible over most of its course as a bank with a ditch on the northern side, varying from a faint depression across the fairway of the golf course to a substantial earthwork, some 2.5 m from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the bank, in Middleton Wood. At various points in the wood the earthwork is interrupted by large hollows, presumably the result of post-medieval quarrying.

BRODSWORTH, ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH (SE 507072) The church was inspected by P. F. Ryder of the South Yorkshire Archaeological Unit. The north and west walls of the nave show a number of interesting features, interpreted as part of the base of an earlier, perhaps Pre-Conquest tower, incorporated in the nave when the church was enlarged in the second half of the twelfth century. These include a blocked opening over the tower arch below a plain string course and a thickening of the west part of the north nave wall.

BROTON (NZ 692198) Further excavation was carried out by S. K. Chapman on the medieval enclosure (*Register* 1976, p. 9). Two sections revealed a slot 600 m wide on the site of the west wall of a building, leading to the north-west corner. Here a cobbled surface 3 m in extent lay on the north, its west edge well defined. West of the building and in line with the north face was a layer of flat stones approximately 3.5 m long, ending near a clay boundary ridge forming the west side of the enclosures. Pottery was again approximately thirteenth to fourteenth-century in date.

CALVERLEY, CALVERLEY HALL (SE 20773686) The Hall was investigated by J. Sugden and subsequently by the County Archaeology Unit. It has seven main building phases, dating from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The earliest structure is probably the three-bay timber solar wing, originally heated by an external stack on its western side, the framing of which includes moulded tiebeams with carved knee-braces to the wallposts. Its roof has been rebuilt using the medieval common rafters. Its decorative detail parallels that of Bolton Percy Gatehouse, dated by dendrochronology to 1467. To the east of the solar is a stone-built hall of six bays, of which the two western may be a seventeenth-century rebuild. The four eastern bays have an arch-braced roof supported on hammerbeams. The hall was originally heated by a substantial side stack on the north. To the west of the solar is a four-bay, stone-built chapel or lesser hall with a roof identical to that of the hall but of a much smaller span. These two roofs resemble that of St. Cuthbert's Church, York, of the mid-fifteenth century. In the angle between the chapel and solar is a single-bay, timber-framed block of two storeys. Unlike the rest of the building, this probably belongs to the local Pennine tradition of timber-framed construction and probably dates to the mid-sixteenth century. A seventeenth-century wing adjoins the wing to the north and two later cottages adjoin the chapel to the south. This important building was the seat of the Scot family, who subsequently changed their name to Calverley.

CLAYTON, HOWELL HOUSE (SE 443083) P. F. Ryder inspected the building. Two bays of a timber-framed structure remain encased in stonework of seventeenth-century or later date. The roof has been reconstructed, but some posts, tiebeams and lengths of wall-plate survive, perhaps of late fifteenth or sixteenth-century date.

COATHAM (NZ 588248) A section was cut by Miss M. M. Brown through two mounds on Coatham East Marsh prior to the realignment of the Middlesbrough–Redcar railway line. These mounds had been identified as the products of medieval salt production but proved to be of natural clay, formed by stream erosion. Descriptions of unlocated mounds in this area make it certain that remains of medieval salt workings survived until the nineteenth century.

DENABY, DENABY OLD HALL (SK 483991) The remains of the fifteenth-century manor house of the Vavasor family were recorded by P. F. Ryder. It originally consisted of three ranges around a courtyard, but only the western half of the north range and the north wall of the west range survive. The north and west walls of the north range were of stone to eaves height, but the south wall, and the remaining wall of the west range, were of half timbered construction. A garderobe turret survives at the east end of the north wall of the remaining portion of the north range, and both this and the windows in the adjacent wall show fifteenth-century features. A cottage, probably of late seventeenth-century date, has been built against the external face of the north wall of the west range.

FARNLEY (SE 246335) The probable site of the medieval mill was inspected by the County Archaeology Unit. It lies to the south of the stream and immediately east of the A6110 road, where remains of a mound some 3 m high survive. To the east of this is a smaller mound, about 1.25–1.75 m high, close to the stream bank. There appears to be a leat, now dry, running to the south of these mounds. The point at which water was diverted from the stream into the leat would have been to the west in an area now under a housing estate.

FINGHALL, ALEBAR FARM (SE 188902) T. C. Welsh reports that a possible moated site has been cut by a stream so that one corner is on the south bank and the remainder on the north. The estimated dimensions are 80 m by 30 m within a ditch at least 6 m wide. The short north-east side has no ditch evident, but a possible supply channel joins the moat from the stream on that axis. At SE 190902 is a fragment of a rectangular ditched platform which continues into the north-west corner of the adjacent field, otherwise levelled. These remains are near Finghall Church and the site is attributed to Akebar Grange.

GREASBROUGH, NETHER HAUGH (SK 419969) A timber-framed barn of five bays, without aisles, was inspected by P. F. Ryder and S. R. Jones. The original structure consisted of three bays, with a collared rafter roof with hipped ends and gables. The rather narrower central bay appears to have always contained the threshing doors. The barn had twice been extended westward by one bay, all three phases probably falling in the late fifteenth or sixteenth century. Later alterations included stone and brick cladding, and the conversion of the roof to the conventional gabled form.

HAREWOOD, LOFTHOUSE (SE 323433) The earthworks of this deserted medieval hamlet were located by the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit during fieldwalking along the corridor of the Ouse extraction water pipeline. A survey by R. E. Yarwood and members of the Y.A.S. Medieval Section revealed a number of large enclosures over an extensive area, centred on a series of interconnected rectangular ponds, probably fishponds and possibly secondary features. Initial clearance of topsoil along the corridor, which only affected the southern half of the site, produced much twelfth–fourteenth-century pottery, a few late medieval sherds and a further group dated to the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century. Finds are with the County Archaeology Unit; the survey is to be completed during 1978.

—, TOFTHOUSES (SE 308427) The earthworks of this well documented, but previously unlocated, medieval hamlet were located by the County Archaeology Unit while examining the corridor of the water pipeline. A survey identified a series of shallow terraced platforms within a banked and ditched enclosure, with a further series of more regular platforms to the west. The complex lay near a twin-basined spring, whose now dry water course formed the boundary between the townships of Adel cum Eccup and Harewood. Scraping of the topsoil revealed fifteenth-century pottery, part of a backstone, a quern fragment, metalwork and stone roofing slates. The stripping of one enclosure within the corridor by S. Moorhouse and members of the Y.A.S. Medieval Section revealed two buildings, one defined by a silted-up eaves drip gully and a spread of fallen roofing slates *in situ*, and the other by a hearth, a rammed clay floor and two stylobates. Pottery dates the use and desertion of these buildings to the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. A partially examined thirteenth–fourteenth-century phase produced a fragmented but complete iron door band, with nails. The upper phases produced two stone capitals with moulded leaf design, dated by Dr. Gee to c. 1500, and fragments of an attached shaft, possibly from the undercroft of a stone building somewhere in the immediate area. The complex of enclosures under excavation, whose earthworks are more pronounced and may therefore be later, may represent a barn complex, possibly part of a horticultural centre belonging to Kirkstall Abbey. The abbey held most of the territory of Toft Houses from the thirteenth century until the Dissolution, after which the pottery evidence suggests that this group of enclosures was abandoned. It is hoped to continue work in 1978.

HAWKSWORTH (SE 157417) Work within this mill dam complex, watched by S. Kerry and S. Moorhouse, revealed a peat stack in the section of the dam some 1.5 m below the present surface, associated with unworked timbers averaging 8 cm in diameter. The original overflow channel on the eastern side of the dam resembles an overgrown hollow-way, while the adjacent cobbled sluice leads to a depression, possibly for a breast-shot wheel; both are to be filled in. The site is probably that of the medieval corn mill of Hawksworth. The pipe trench revealed a rubble-lined well of undetermined depth to the south of the dam. A record of the earthworks is deposited with the County Archaeology Unit.

HULL, BLACKFRIARGATE (TA 100284) Further excavations by B. Ayers and J. Watkin for the Humberside Archaeology Unit on the line of the South Orbital Road through the medieval port (*Register* 1976, p. 10) located a series of structures dating from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Five main phases are indicated: two phases of a late thirteenth-century rectangular house defined by limestone padstones set on a raised platform of clay were overlain by foundations, principally of chalk and limestone, of a larger mid-fourteenth-century house, in turn subdivided, probably in the early fifteenth-century, by a central brick division with square brick hearths on either side. Further subdivisions occurred in the nineteenth-century.

IDLE, WELL FOLD (SE 187379) A house examined by S. Kerry, A. Saul and D. J. H. Michelmores proved to be a fifteenth-century timber-framed structure with one complete bay and part of a second beneath an early nineteenth-century stone skin. A datestone incorporated in the building reads 'EME 1664', referring to Edward and Elizabeth Malkareth, drysalers. Further details are held at The Manor House, Ilkley.

KIMBERWORTH (SK 40359310) Miss A. Bockley reports that members of the Rotherham Archaeological Society have carried out a rescue excavation adjacent to the existing manor house, dated 1694, revealing part of the manor house known to have existed in the thirteenth century. Finds included silver pennies of Henry III and of Alexander III of Scotland. A fallow deer antler was also found in association with fourteenth-century pottery. Extensive stone robbing had taken place. A nineteenth-century well had cut through earlier walls and was excavated to a depth of 4 m, producing sherds of contemporary Delft ware. The finds are deposited in Clifton House Museum, Rotherham.

MIDHOPE, MIDHOPE HALL (SK 233996) The Old Courthouse, a large medieval structure, much altered, was inspected by P. F. Ryder and S. R. Jones. It is now used as cow byres, with a barn at first floor level. In the south gable and now opening into adjacent farm buildings are the remains of a fine window with four trefoil-headed lights under a square head, the frame and tracery being all of timber. The first floor is supported by a substantial longitudinal beam running the whole length of the building and carried on corbels in the north and south walls and by a central octagonal wooden post with a moulded capital.

NEWTON LE WILLOWS (SE 213891 area) T. C. Welsh reports that on the southern side of the village Sham Hill is an apparently artificial inclined platform. At SE 213893 the railway embankment overlies a rectangular feature formed by banks and ditches. Extensive terraces and ridge and furrow were noted around SE 222893, 220892, 218889 and elsewhere. At SE 215890 a field is enclosed by a massive rubble bank.

NUNBURNHOLME (SE 820491) During fieldwalking W. A. MacKay found a bronze cauldron leg, a bronze object with traces of gilding, possibly part of a strap end, and a sixpence of Elizabeth I, dated 1569.

OVENDEN, MIXENDEN (SE 06702822) The eastern half of The Fold was inspected by the County Archaeology Unit. This incorporates one and a half bays of a timber-framed late or sub-medieval aisled house, with the aisle to the south. The braces from the wallposts to the tiebeams were more substantial than those from the aisleposts to the tiebeams. A studded partition, of which the halvings are visible on a single brace from aislepost to arcade plate, may be an insertion. The small size of the window in the former eastern gable suggests that this part of the house incorporates the service bay and lower part of the hall of the original aisled house. A single-storey stone wing with an original ceiling was built against the hall, probably in the seventeenth century, and contains a well-preserved garderobe. Two further extensions were added on the east in the early eighteenth century.

PARLINGTON (SE 41503755) Research by D. J. H. Michelmores suggested the existence of a previously unrecognised hamlet division and settlement of Hillam in the northern part of Parlington township. Field investigation by him, M. L. Faull and S. Moorhouse has identified the site of the settlement, interpreted the mill complex, and defined a route between the two. The principal earthworks of the settlement include well-defined terraced and hollow-ways to the east of Leyfield Farm, with banked enclosures, many of which have internal platforms or terraced areas, presumably building sites. Sherds of thirteenth-fourteenth-century pottery were picked up within one enclosure. Extensive limestone quarries exist to the west, the working of which may have affected the medieval earthworks. A 'moat' to the north near the Cock Beck is more likely to be a series of related sub-rectangular fishponds. At SE 41683750 are substantial terraced areas and platforms below the brow of a hill, clearly detached from the principal earthworks and reached by a well defined terrace way leading from the mill route to the north.

The mill (SE 42133798) is marked as still standing and called 'Hillam Mill' on the 1st edn. 6 in. O.S. map. The site is still preserved on its sluice, which now forms the Cock Beck, of which the original course, surviving as a boggy abandoned meander to the north, forms the township boundary between Parlington and Aberford. Earth works and enclosures to the south-east of the mill site possibly represent the site of the miller's house, to which access was provided by a well-defined terraced way leading from the mill.

PENISTONE, SHORE HALL BARN (SE 223028) A five-bay aisled barn was planned by P. F. Ryder and S. R. Jones. The original structure had consisted of four bays, with a hipped collared rafter roof. The side walls of the aisles may have been of wattle and daub, suggested by the continuous groove on the soffit of the remaining sections of aisle plate. Later alterations included the addition of a bay to the south and the reconstruction of the roof to a principal rafter truss form. Constructional details suggest a late fourteenth or fifteenth-century date for the original structure.

POCKLINGTON (SE 796497) W. A. MacKay reports the finding of a silver penny of Henry V or Henry VI (1413-71) and of apple-green glazed potsherds.

SHADWELL (SE 34393966) A late medieval pottery kiln, located during fieldwalking by M.E. Eccleston, was excavated under the direction of Mrs. H. E. J. Le Patourel. The kiln pit, on a hilltop site, had been excavated to 0.5 m below the level of the sandstone bedrock to form a three-flued kiln, lined with gritstone walls 1.2 m high up to the final ground level. Two steps led down into each flue, and the wall between the kiln and each flue was pierced by an arch 0.3 m wide and 0.5 m high. One such arch remained intact, while the uprights of the others survived *in situ*. Some charcoal remained on the floor of each flue, most of it in the southern one near a deep deposit of ash at ground level. The kiln had been infilled with a mixture of undressed stone, earth, burnt clay, wasters and the bones of farm animals. The very large quantity (c. 500 kg) of burnt clay in the infill suggested the remains of at least four kiln roofs. Sherds found scattered throughout the area were from a very limited number of types of late medieval coarse ware. A few fragments were from a locally made copper-glazed lobed cup.

SKELTON, BUCK RUSH (NZ 696165) Miss M. M. Brown reports that a small earthwork approximately 45 m square was seen from the air under light snow. There are traces of the foundations of buildings inside. It might be the site of a farmstead, possibly of medieval date.

SNAPE WITH THORPE (SE 216840) T. C. Welsh reports that in the field south of Snape Castle a complex of minor earthworks suggests a medieval village site. Part relates to ponds and supply conduits, one of the ponds recently infilled and two others long breached. On the higher part of the slope is a triangular area formed by low banks diverging from the crest downhill, which dictate adjacent ridge-and-furrow patterns, but which have been adapted and overlain by small turf-banked fields.

STAINBURN, ST. MARY'S CHAPEL (SE 246485) Rescue investigations were undertaken at the redundant medieval chapel at the request of the Redundant Churches Fund by members of the University of Leeds Archaeological Society, directed by R. K. Morris. Excavation outside the west end and at the east end showed that the chapel had been built in a single operation during the first half of the twelfth century. There was no sign of an earlier chapel but the area available for excavation was too small to make certain that this was so. The chapel appears to have had rights of burial from the moment of its establishment. Survey revealed that it had been set out with considerable precision.

STANLEY (SE 35832089) An abandoned loop of the Calder was inspected on behalf of the County Archaeology Unit for traces of a medieval fishery. A raised bank on the downstream side of a silted-up channel may represent the weir or fishery structure in which the traps or weals would be placed—a structure common in the medieval period on major river courses.

STANNINGTON, POND FARMHOUSE (SK 30648862) A house incorporating two bays of a late medieval cruck house was planned by P. F. Ryder and S. R. Jones. Three cruck bays survive, that at the west end of the present house having originally spanned an open hall. This truss has a purlin tie and a second lower tie at (inserted) first floor level, connected by an octagonal post or king strut, an arrangement probably connected with a firehood. The northern screens door of the original hall survives, with an ogee-arched head. Details of the construction and carpentry suggest a fifteenth-century date for the original house. When its western part, probably two bays in extent, was destroyed, perhaps in the seventeenth century, many of its timbers were re-used in an addition to the east end. A further eastern addition was made in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

STIRTON, WOOMBER BRIDGE (SD 954535) D. Williams, for the Craven Museum, reports the destruction of the earthwork recorded by F. Villy (Note on an Entrenchment of Medieval date between Gargrave and Skipton, *Y.A.J.* 25 (1920), pp. 354–6). A survey of the site after rotivation revealed the remains of at least three buildings within the earthwork. From the pottery found two are of seventeenth–eighteenth-century date but one, in the south-east corner, is probably of late twelfth–fourteenth-century date. The earthwork itself appeared to be late medieval. The results of the survey are deposited in the Craven Museum. Historical work by R. Hoyle has shown that leases of 1611 and 1637 give the name of the site as Holme House and describe it as standing within a close called Low Sulber (*Y.A.S.*, DD 121/36C/2 f. 39a and DD 121/66). The site still existed in 1719, when it was again leased (DD 121/27/7, p. 17). It is not clear when it was abandoned. This site may represent the lodge at Holme (*Cal. Close Rolls* 1392–96 p.96), but is likely to be the capital messuage of Holme Demesne, which frequently occurs in late sixteenth-century accounts.

STOCKSBRIDGE, GREEN FARM (SK 253984) Remains of a timber-framed hall house, probably of early fifteenth-century date, were recorded by P. F. Ryder and S. R. Jones. Three bays survived, encased in stonework of late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century date. The northern bay had been of two storeys, divided from the open hall by a closed truss with diagonal studding in its upper part. In the hall there was evidence for a bressumer with a post above to the tie-beam, an arrangement connected with the firehood. On the east side of the north bay was a single-storey stone-built kitchen, and there was some evidence for a medieval predecessor on the same site. At least one bay had been destroyed at the south end of the house by the addition of a stone cross wing in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

THORPE IN BALNE (SE 599111) The remains of the medieval chapel, now incorporated in farm buildings within a large moated site, were recorded by P. F. Ryder. Only the twelfth-century chancel remains, with later medieval and nineteenth-century alterations. The footings of the south wall of the nave, destroyed in the nineteenth century, are traceable in cow byres. A chapel on the south side of the chancel, probably of fourteenth-century date, had been destroyed previously. The unusual plan is paralleled by St. Thomas Becket's Church, Grindon, County Durham, where a fourteenth-century chapel in a similar position was added to a two-cell Norman structure.

WAKEFIELD (SE 316193) Mrs. P. Judkins, for Wakefield Art Gallery and Museums, reports that a gold quarter noble of Henry V was found in the garden of 26 The Mount, Thornes Road, possibly in a secondary context, since topsoil was brought in for the gardens. Retained by the finder.

WATH ON DEARNE, THORNHILL HALL (SE 43210091) On the site of a medieval manor a stone barn incorporating fragments of a timber-framed predecessor was recorded by P. F. Ryder. The present house appears to be largely of eighteenth-century date, but the remains of the base of a newel stair in the cellar suggest that some medieval masonry survives.

WEST ARDSLEY, WOODKIRK (SE 273248) The well preserved series of dams to the east of Woodkirk Church were surveyed by Mrs. J. Thorn in advance of the laying of a pipe trench down their length and watched by her and the County Archaeology Unit. The wooden framework of sluice gates was revealed, about 2 m below present ground surface and resting on natural shale. The timber members were jointed together by mortice and tenon joints held in place with wooden pegs. The structure was stone-faced and its infill was blue/grey clay, peat and twigs. It may have been built between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries. Its line was followed by a stone-faced post-medieval dam, but both have been largely destroyed by the sewer pipe. Some wood from the earlier dam is in Leeds Industrial Museum.

WHARRAM PERCY (SE 858642) The 26th season of excavation was again directed by J. G. Hurst for the Medieval Village Research Group (*Register* 1976, p. 13). Excavation in the north manorial enclosure produced evidence of activity in the Romano-British, Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods. A further 48 medieval burials were excavated on the glebe terrace extending well to the north of the thirteenth-century churchyard boundary. The southern boundary of the churchyard was excavated to a depth of 3.5 m and produced a succession of Iron Age and Romano-British structures. The timber dam has been dated by Carbon 14 to 650 and 750 A.D. A considerable tumble of twelfth-century ashlar was found, including a large fragment of millstone and a late Saxon loom-weight. Further excavation near the manor house in Area 10 produced better evidence than on the northern manor site for continuity since Romano-British times. It is significant that the Romano-British pottery from under both manor sites is neither abraded nor scattered, suggesting that there has been no ploughing or other major disturbance on these sites since Romano-British times.

WHISTON (SK 45818898) The former 'Manor House' at Upper Whiston, now 'The Poplars', was inspected by P. F. Ryder and S. R. Jones. The stone-built main block has a fine principal rafter truss roof, the hanging braces to the purlins suggesting an early seventeenth-century date. The south end of the building, however, is a cross wing of two bays, formerly timber-framed, which may be of late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century date. Its roof timbers were largely replaced in the nineteenth century.

WHITWOOD, FAIRY HILL (SE 397428) S. Moorhouse reports that M. Foxton has picked up a base sherd from a Stamford ware vessel of probable twelfth-early thirteenth-century date from erosion on this mound. The location of the mound and the find suggest that this is a probable motte site in the north-western corner of Whitwood township on the edge of the Honour of Pontefract, overlooking the manor of Wakefield to the north of the River Calder. The low flat pudding-basin profile of the mound may suggest that it is a filled-in ringwork. The sherd is with the County Archaeological Unit.

—, MANOR HOUSE (SE 401247) Mrs. P. Judkins reports that an Irish silver penny of Edward I was found in the grounds, perhaps from a secondary context, since soil had been imported for a tennis court in the area. The coin is of the Waterford mint, 1279–84. Finds from the same area include a halfpenny of 1700 and pottery ranging in date from the fifteenth century to the present day. The coin is now in Wakefield City Museum and the pottery with the County Archaeology Unit.

WHORLTON See Roman section.

YARM (NZ 450076) An excavation was carried out in West Street by D. H. Evans for Cleveland County and the Department of the Environment, prior to building. The earliest structure detected on the site was a substantial timber building facing onto the street: six large post pits of a probable eight-post aisled building were found. Above this and separated from it by layers of silt and a clay dump were vestiges of a second timber building also facing onto the street. Associated with this were a series of cess pits and a well in the yard at the rear. See also Prehistoric section.

YORK The York Archaeological Trust, under the direction of P. V. Addyman, reports the following results:

—, ALDWARK See Roman and Anglo-Saxon sections.

—, BEDERN (SE 60535210) Excavation by M. Daniells on the site of the College of the Vicars Choral has revealed the medieval ground plan of a quadrangle. The Common Hall, which still stands, forms one side of this, with an extensive service range, including a kitchen, and a timber-framed range, possibly domestic, enclosing two of the other sides. These ranges enclosed a garden, the major feature of which was a limestone cobbled pathway. Remains of a large cobbled yard adjacent to the service range have also been uncovered.

—, CATTLE MARKET (SE 60795116) A watching brief identified the probable site of the church of All Saints, Fishergate.

—, CLEMENTHORPE (SE 60315109) Excavations by S. Donaghey and D. Brinklow on the site of the medieval nunnery of St. Clement's (*Register* 1976, p. 14) were completed prior to redevelopment for council housing. The substantial remains of three post-medieval lime kilns were found, presumably the reason for the very scanty remains of medieval structures recovered. These overlay a massive cobble feature of pre-Conquest date, seemingly the foundations of an ecclesiastical building. Over 100 burials recovered from the nunnery levels should provide an interesting comparison with material from the Trust's other medieval cemetery excavation at St. Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark.

—, COPPERGATE See Anglo-Saxon section.

—, HIGH OUSEGATE (SE 60355173) Holes dug for underpinning of No. 8 revealed wattle fences flanking the present passage way and early medieval wooden coffins, presumably related to the nearby church of St. Peter the Little.

—, MARYGATE (SE 59805219) A watching brief at the Jorvik Hotel revealed a late medieval–post-medieval well.

—, MONK BAR (SE 60565225) A watching brief revealed part of the barbican, demolished in 1825.

POST-MEDIEVAL

BATLEY, STAINCLIFFE HALL (SE 23102372) The hall was inspected by the West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit. An examination of the roof structure revealed four main building phases, of which the first, with a Type I king-post truss, could have been timber-framed. A wing to the north includes a raised cruck truss with a Type D apex; this wing was again extended in the early eighteenth century. A wing was added to the east, probably between 1709 and 1750.

CALVERLEY, CALVERLEY HALL See Medieval section.

CLAYTON, HOWELL HOUSE See Medieval section.

CULLINGWORTH, CULLINGWORTH MILLS (SE 068367) S. W. Feather and R. Fitzgerald are surveying and excavating a textile mill coal gas plant abandoned c. 1890. The plant consists of three banks of six retorts, a gas holder base and building remains, which have survived substantially intact under demolition debris from the destruction by fire of part of the mill complex. Finds are deposited in Bradford Industrial Museum.

DENABY, DENABY OLD HALL See Medieval section.

DEWSBURY, WILTON STREET (SE 246214) P. Webster reports that two adjacent sites between the churchyard and the River Calder were examined by the Calder Valley Archaeological Group. Excavation indicated no significant occupation before the nineteenth century, perhaps because of the closeness to the river and frequent flooding.

EASINGTON, BOULBY ALUM WORKS (NZ 752197) Further work was carried out on the New Works site by S. K. Chapman (*Register* 1976, p. 14). Sections were cut into a pyramidal heap which is a prominent feature of calcining clamp bases. It consisted of sandstones mixed with soft grey shales, some stones showing traces of burning, and lumps of clay. This suggests that it was a dump for waste materials used as a lining for the clamps to produce more internal heat during firing. The west end of a sandstone-lined steeping pit was opened; its floor slopes for drainage of the alum liquors.

GREENHOW HILL, COCKHILL MINE (SE 10936419) H. Houghton reports that members of the Northern Mine Research Society made a photographic record, drawn survey and excavated at the Chimney Shaft. The mine was driven in search of lead ore and worked a number of veins. Between 1859 and 1862 the Sunside Lead Mining Co. put down a sump 20 fathoms deep. In 1875 the Pateley Bridge Mining Co. sunk this a further 10 fathoms and equipped it with a steam pump and haulage engine fed by five boilers housed underground near the head of the sump. Access to this boiler house is now only possible in very dry weather via the Chimney Shaft (a vertical stone-lined shaft 2½ ft. in diameter) and by old levels (blocked off from the rest of the mine to form the flue). Overall there is a vertical drop of approx. 300 ft. from the surface. There are remains of only three boilers, one of which has castings on it on which to mount an engine. All records are deposited with the Society's Recorder.

HEPWORTH, DEAN HEAD FARM (SE 15750600) D. J. H. Michelmores reports that the removal of the roof of the cruck-framed building has revealed two sets of halvings for windbraces on the remaining cruck truss, indicating that it was of at least two bays, not of one as suggested by James Walton (*Early timbered buildings of the Huddersfield district* (Huddersfield 1955), p. 16). Outshots were probably originally present on both sides. Re-used as a principal joist is what was probably originally part of a smoke-hood, removed when the floor was inserted in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

HULL, BLACKFRIARS See Medieval section.

IDLE, WELL FOLD See Medieval section.

LOWER WHITLEY, HOWROYD MINE (SE 225175) The West Yorkshire County Archaeology Unit reports that the remains of an early twentieth-century tramway associated with the mine runs south-eastwards for 265 m. The tramway has a gauge of 68.9 cm and its rails are I-shaped in section. The system is completed by a cable and a possible wooden signal system. The tramway is threatened by proposed opencast mining.

MORTON, MANOR FARM (SE 099422) The recently-burnt single-aisled barn at Manor Farm, East Morton, examined by the County Archaeology Unit, was probably of three bays. The porch, with a pigeon loft over, bears the date TFMCS 1664, but if mortices in the aisle wallplate indicate timber framing this could be the date at which the barn was cased in stone. The house, dated TF 1666, has a parlour and lobby-entry between the hall and service wing and contains some original doors and ceiling mouldings.

WEST RIDDLES DEN HALL (SE 07234272) The seventeenth-century barn at the hall was examined by the County Archaeology Unit. It is L-shaped, consisting of a five-bay barn with two-bay, two-storeyed domestic accommodation to the east and, built at right-angles to the western end, a cow-house with loft over. The barn has a waggon entrance to the south opposite a much smaller door to the north. The foundations of a horse-gin occupy the centre of the yard in front of the barn.

NORTHOWRAM, BOOTH TOWN HOUSE (SE 088269) The house, which probably dates to the late seventeenth century, was inspected by the County Archaeology Unit. It consists of one wing of a larger structure and in plan has a central stack opposite a centrally placed entrance with single rooms on either side. The first-floor plan is similar, but with a small chamber over the porch. The staircase is on the opposite side of the stack from the entrance. The building lacks roof trusses, the single side-purlins and square-set ridge being supported on its stone walls. A first-floor ceiling, supported by a spine beam, was an original feature.

—, BRIGG ROYD (087288) When examined by the County Archaeology Unit this proved to be a four-bay stone building of one build dating to the late seventeenth or, possibly, the early eighteenth century.

NUNBURNHOLME See Medieval section.

OVENDEN, THE FOLD See Medieval section.

PUDSEY, GREENSIDE (SE 218327) Further work by the Pudsey and District Archaeological Society at No. 42 (*Register* 1976, p. 16) disclosed five post-holes, unexplained as components of either the timber-framed or the stone building.

—, LOWTOWN (SE 224335) The Pudsey and District Archaeological Society has been recording a late seventeenth–early eighteenth-century outshot type house. It has a substantial cellar 3 by 3·6 m in the rear part; floor joists visible there appear to have soffits housed into the principal joists.

—, BRICK MILL ROAD (SE 226328) Members of the Pudsey and District Archaeological Society surveyed a contiguous, but not contemporary, pair of seventeenth–early eighteenth-century single outshot type houses (Nos. 10 and 11). Ten houses of this type have been identified within the township of Pudsey, two of which contain proven remains of earlier timber-framed structures.

RIPON WITH BONDGATE, MASTERMAN CRAG (SE 301698) Mrs. M. Morton reports the finding of a copper farthing of Charles II dated 1675 from a ploughed field west of Quarry Moor on Hall Wath Lane.

SHEFFIELD, SHEFFIELD MANOR (SK 375856) Work by Miss P. Beswick for Sheffield City Museum continued on the west wing of the sixteenth-century house (*Register* 1976, p. 16). The main entrance, flanked by twin brick-faced octagonal towers, has proved to be the latest building phase in this wing. Leading off the southern tower a series of semi-basement rooms without fireplaces and probably used for storage has been uncovered. The east-west cross wing discovered in 1976 is later and outlines remains of older structures, as yet undated.

SKIPTON (SD 990516) D. Williams, for the Craven Museum, reports the finding of the stone foundations of a building in the old market place to the south of the market cross (now demolished). The building extended north to south along the High Street for 135 m. The only find was a large dressed stone marked ET on two sides, probably for the Earls of Thanet, lords of Skipton from the late seventeenth to the nineteenth century. The stone and records of the building are in the Craven Museum.

STANNINGTON, POND FARM See Medieval section.

STIRTON, WOOMBER BRIDGE See Medieval section.

STOCKSBRIDGE, GREEN FARM See Medieval section.

THRYBERGH (SK 472965) C. Labon reports the remains of a packhorse route at Carr Lane.

TONG, SCHOLEBROOK (SE 21003110) Fieldwork by S. and C. Moorhouse has identified six square stone-lined pits adjoining the northern bank of the Holme Beck, due south of Scholebrook Farm. They are represented by depressions approximately 2 m square, with stones protruding through the turf. Four form a square, the south-western depression being cut by a meander of the stream. This site appears to be that of a tannery, for an estate map of 1725 (Bradford District Archives, Tempest of Tong MSS) shows a rectangular building in their area and the field in which they lay is called 'Tanhouse yard'.

UPPER WHISTON, THE POPLARS See Medieval section.

WALES GRANGE (SK 47708272) A ruinous barn was recorded by P. F. Ryder and S. R. Jones. The original structure, probably of late sixteenth or early seventeenth-century date, appeared to have been of three bays, the narrow central bay probably housing the threshing doors. Remaining sections of wall-plate show mortices for studding, indicating that the building was originally all of timber construction. The range of farm buildings on the east side of the farmyard also incorporates some remnants of timber framing.

WATH ON DEARNE, THORNHILL HALL See Medieval section.

WENTWORTH, HARLEY HALL (SK 372985) This substantial H-plan house, a former home of the Hauslin family, was recorded by P. F. Ryder and S. R. Jones. It had been timber-framed throughout, with a king-post roof. The central block and southern cross wing probably date from c. 1500, and the wider northern cross wing is an addition probably of c. 1550. There is no firehood or early chimney.

WHISTON (SK 465885) C. Labon reports the remains of packhorse trails at Stow Bridge and Doles Lane, Whiston, Whiston (SK 45808950).

YORK, CLEMENTHORPE See Medieval section.

MISCELLANEOUS

BURRILL WITH COWLING, COWLING FARM (SE 236881) T. C. Welsh reports that foundations were uncovered and removed during wartime ploughing, and that at SE 238878 an oval arrangement of stones was removed c. 1945. A sealed room has been uncovered at Burrill Manor.

—, (SE 236881) T. C. Welsh reports a rectilinear area 150 m by 75 m on elevated ground on either side of the road and partly wooded. It is defined by a slight scarp on the north, continued by a ditch and pond round the south-west angle. A robbed mound 20 m by 12 m and 2 m high lies in the south-east angle.

COTHERSTONE, COTHERSTONES MOOR (NY 953178) S. W. Feather reports a millstone working site.

CRAKEHALL, STORRA PASTURE FARM (SE 250904) T. C. Welsh reports an enclosure 65 m by 18 m formed by a shallow ditch 2.5–4 m wide with a channel entering the south-west angle from a point upstream. The south-west angle has been eroded. At SE 251909 a subrectangular platform is cut by a road.

CRATHORNE (NZ 450076) Miss M. M. Brown reports that a double-ditched rectangular enclosure showed up as a crop mark site from the air.

DORE, HALLFIELD (SK 298807) T. C. Welsh reports that a rectangular enclosure internally about 75 m by 65 m, with rounded corners was seen as a crop/soil mark on 1948 air photographs. On the ground the north-east corner and half the east side are defined by a low bank about 6 m across. A shallow ditch appears to form the south-west angle while the north and south sides appear to correspond to breaks in slope. The site, on a sloping eminence overlooking the confluence of Redcar Brook and Blacka Dyke, is in a strategic position at the head of the Dore gap.

ECCLESHALL, ECCLESHALL WOODS (SE 320829) T. C. Welsh reports that aerial photographs of 1948 reveal a crop/soil mark west of Abbey Lane of two parallel lines about 30 m apart. These may correspond to the inner and outer banks at the west end of the enclosure in the wood (*Register* 1975, p. 13), giving it dimensions of 200 m by 150 m.

GLASS HOUGHTON (SE 4466244) The site which gives its name to Holywell Wood was visited by the County Archaeology Unit. The well survives as a wet and boggy depression some 2–3 ft. deep and some 5 ft. wide, lying on a spring line.

HACKFORTH (SE 245933) T. C. Welsh reports that to the west of a complex of earthworks near Hackforth Farm two sides of a possible subrectangular enclosure with rounded angles were noted. The bank is about 4 m broad and may enclose an area of about 200 m by 150 m. The remains of the northern side are clearly visible on photographs in the Cambridge University Collection, but the west side, flanked by the Bedale to Catterick road, cannot be distinguished. Several rectilinear outlines extend inward from the west side, until overlain by later features.

RIVELIN, THE LAWNS (SK 286874) T. C. Welsh reports a mound 8–10 m across, about 1 m high and with a flat top about 4.5 m across, built out of the slope of the hill and crossed by a drystone wall to the north of The Lawns Farm.

AIR RECONNAISSANCE IN 1977

BY D. N. RILEY

As a result of the dry period in July and August, 1977 was another good year for cropmarks, though cold weather caused them to appear considerably later than usual. The pattern observed in previous years was repeated and most of the sites photographed were either enclosures, which occurred singly or grouped together, or remains of field boundaries. My flying programme covered parts of the arable land of the counties of South and West Yorkshire, and of the Vale of York. Earlier in the summer, before cropmarks began to appear, flights were made to Craven to record shadow sites, but these are not dealt with here.

I

SOUTH AND EAST OF DONCASTER

Further extensive traces of fields, generally shown by parallel boundary lines, about 70 to 80 m apart (compare previous report in *Y.A.J.*, 48 (1976), p. 16), were photographed between Stainforth and Edenthorpe, and in Rossington, Tickhill and Austerfield. Occasional rectangular enclosures were seen, joined to the field boundaries, and therefore probably of the same date. The principal areas seen for the first time in 1977, or much enlarged by 1977 observations, were as follows.

<i>Parish, and approx. centre of area of fields</i>	<i>Approx. area in acres</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Barnby Dun with Kirk Sandall (SK 630093)	60	Rectangular fields with arrangement less regular than usual
ditto (SK 626075)	50	Strips <i>c.</i> 70 m wide, aligned approx. 100°–280° (<i>i.e.</i> nearly E.–W.).
Hatfield (SE 635071)	40	Strips <i>c.</i> 50 m wide, aligned approx. 100°–280°. Extend westwards into adjacent parishes.
Tickhill (SK 620928)	100	Strips <i>c.</i> 80 m wide, aligned approx. 090°–270°.

II

COAL MEASURES

Seventeen new sites worthy of note were recorded in 1977, seven of which were in the Dearne Valley, and five on the slopes of the Aire and Calder Valleys below Leeds. Very often the cropmarks showed enclosures, the shape of which varied from rectangular with rounded corners to sub-rectangular. Fifteen of the sites are listed below and two are given in the Roman Rig list in the next section, where a general survey is made of the results of 1976 and 1977 north of Rotherham.

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Map Ref.</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Whiston	SK 453883	Two rectangular enclosures.
Bolton on Dearne	SE 449043	Two small sub-rectangular enclosures beside lane.
Thurnscoe	SE 452052	Two adjacent rectangular enclosures.
Darfield	SE 395054	D-shaped enclosure.
Little Houghton	SE 428052	Small D-shaped enclosure. Field boundaries.
Little Houghton	SE 424066	Sub-rectangular enclosure beside lane.
Great Houghton	SE 438058	Rectangular enclosure. To west, lane and fields.
Brierley	SE 423091	Circle (near D-shaped enclosure recorded in 1976).
South Kirkby	SE 449098	Small rectangular enclosure.
South Kirkby	SE 440112	Part of enclosure.
Rothwell	SE 362252	D-shaped enclosure, and part of another enclosure.
Rothwell	SE 353295	Rectangular enclosure seen as soilmark on N.C.B. site. Excavated by West Yorks. C.C. Unit and Roman well found inside.

Swillington	SE 385312	Complex of rectangular enclosures.
Swillington	SE 377322	Rectangular enclosure.
Swillington	SE 378330	Field boundaries and winding lane.

Enclosures near the Roman Rig (Fig. 1)

The cropmarks photographed north of Rotherham in 1976–77 form an interesting group near the linear earthwork known as the Roman Rig*. Taking the various places in numerical order according to fig. 1, they are: (1) SK 409974—two rectangular enclosures; (2) SK 415979—small sub-rectangular enclosure; (3) SK 409985—several enclosures, some rectangular, at the top of Hoover Hill, apparently a place of importance; (4) SK 414988—indistinct marks of a group of enclosures; (5) SK 418986—small rectangular enclosure; (6)

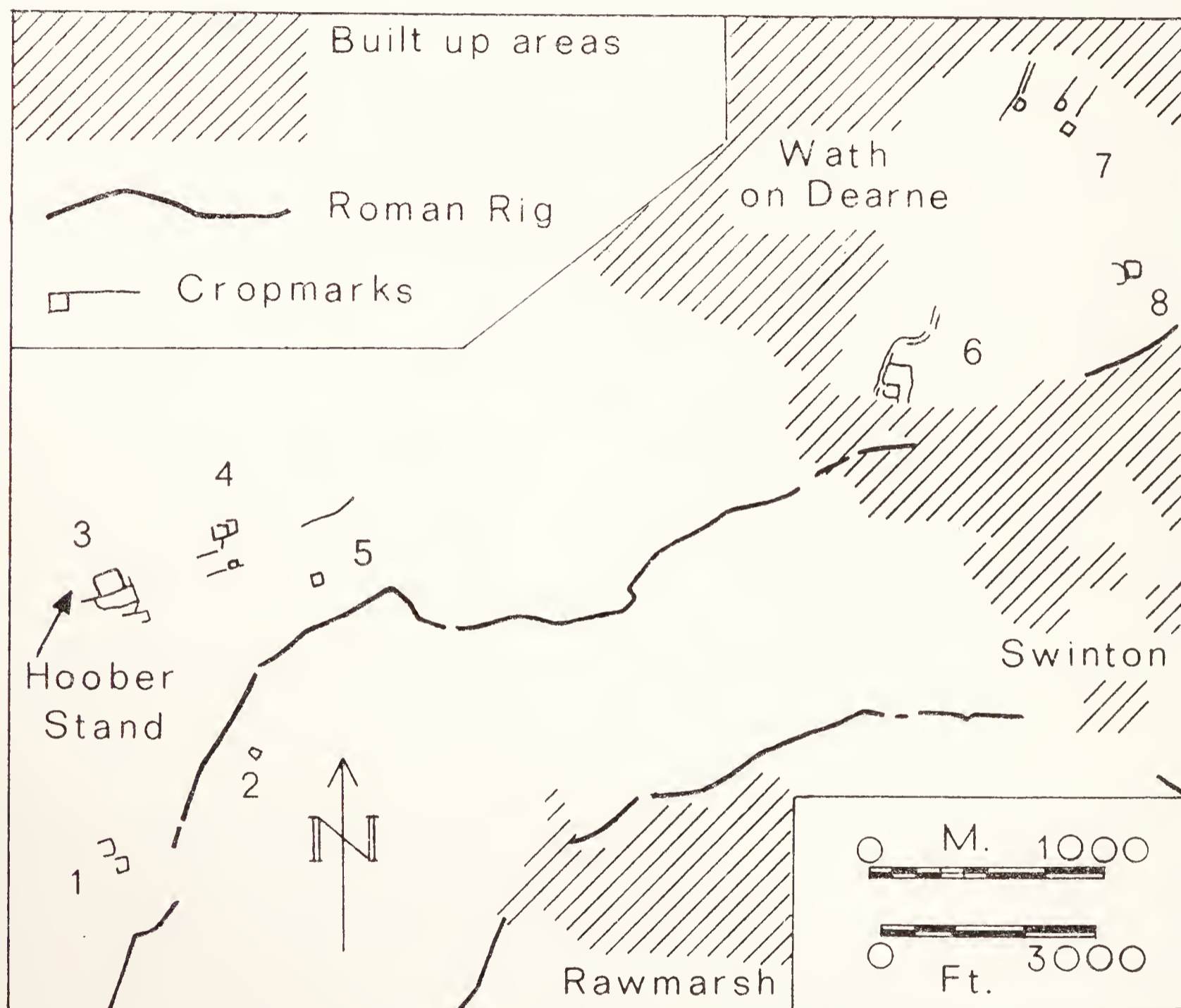


FIG. 1

SK 442994—a picture of the enclosures here was reproduced on *Y.A.J.*, 49 (1977), p. 31; (7) SE 448008—one rectangular and two D-shaped enclosures, and a lane; (8) SK 452999—square enclosure overlapped by other ditches. There is also, not on the area covered by fig. 1, a D-shaped enclosure at SK 397957. Sites 4 and 5, both in Brampton Bierlow parish, were first seen in 1977.

Attention is needed to these sites, which may be at risk from building or plough damage.

* For information on the Rig see Preston, F.L., 'A Field Survey of the Roman Rig Dyke in South-West Yorkshire', *Trans. Hunter Arch. Soc.*, 6 (1945–50), pp. 197–220 and 285–309.

III MAGNESIAN LIMESTONE

Another summer's flying over the Magnesian limestone again produced new discoveries, though they are becoming fewer. The eight places listed below are all of interest.

Parish	Map Ref.	Notes
Thorpe Salvin	SK 524795	Large rectangular enclosure.
Hampole	SE 523092	South of Red House roundabout, small rectangular enclosure.
Kirk Smeaton	SE 509154	Rectangular enclosure, cropmarks very distinct.
Norton	SE 524161	Rectangular enclosure. Field boundaries.
Knottingley	SE 474240	Pit alignment near henge previously recorded (<i>Antiquity</i> 40 (1966), pl. 26).
Knottingley	SE 470242	Small rectangular enclosure.
Clifford	SE 412451	Large sub-rectangular enclosure.
Kirk Deighton	SE 385503	Two adjacent sub-rectangular enclosures (to be added to the plan given on <i>Y.A.J.</i> , 49 (1977), p. 22).

The Kirk Smeaton and Norton enclosures were orientated with their sides facing the principal points of the compass, and it may be significant that many of the enclosures located in the vicinity are similarly aligned, which suggests that they may have formed part of a big scheme of land boundaries, the other traces of which have now disappeared.

Cropmarks West of Bramham Park (Fig. 2)

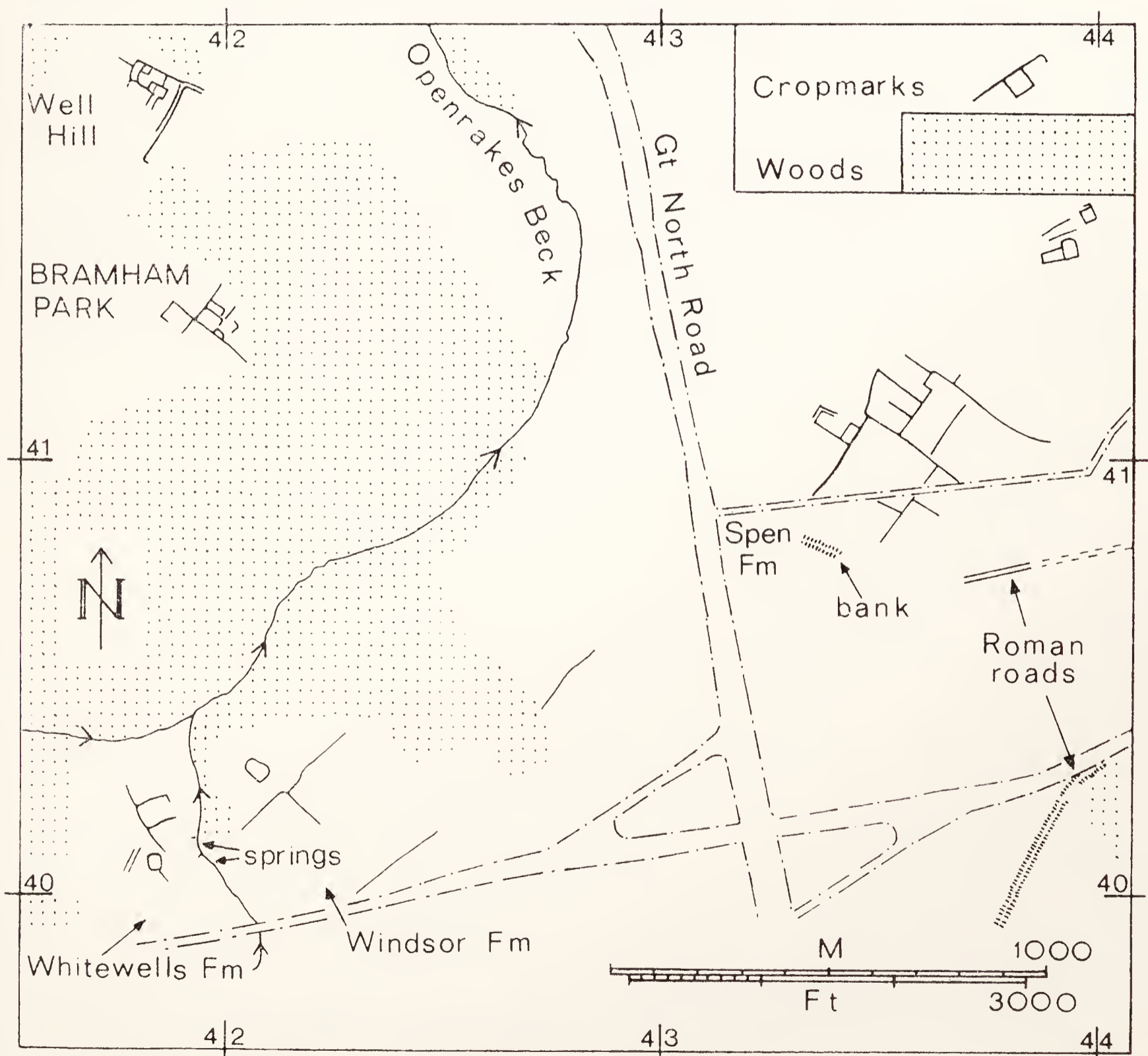


FIG. 2

Good pictures, with much new information, were taken of a large grid pattern of cropmarks centred on SE 345410, which may be connected with the earthwork near Spen Farm mentioned by H. G. Ramm in a recent paper (*York Historian*, 1 (1976), pp. 8, 9). A short distance to the south was seen a short length of the side ditches of one of the Roman roads described in the paper, while about a mile to the south west, several sub-rectangular enclosures centred on SE 420402, near the springs at Whitewells, indicate an important location. The map (fig. 2) also shows groups of rectangular enclosures seen some years ago at SE 419419 on Well Hill and at SE 420413 in Bramham Park.

IV LOWER AIRE VALLEY

Prospection of this district in the past has been without results, but in 1977 it was found that cropmarks of enclosures of the usual type were present.

<i>Parish</i>	<i>Map Ref.</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Beal	SE 540235	Square enclosure. Field boundaries.
Beal	SE 534237	Group of rectangular enclosures, resembling a D.M.V. site.
Kellington	SE 559243	Square enclosure, cropmarks very distinct. Field boundaries.
Birkin	SE 528272	Square enclosure.

Isolated groups of cropmarks were seen at a few places in the Vale of York to the north of York, but they will be reported on a future occasion, when it is hoped that others will by then have been found in the same areas.

The results reported here were obtained during a programme arranged by the Aerial Archaeology Committee of the Society, which was aided by a grant from the Department of the Environment. Much photographic help was received from the Air Photographs Unit of the National Monuments Record, and among those who took part in the programme, special mention must be made of the assistance received from J. H. Little and P. A. James.

APRON FULL OF STONES, A PREHISTORIC CAIRN, THORNTON IN LONSDALE, NORTH YORKSHIRE

BY ALAN KING

Summary The remains of a cairn, thought to be Bronze Age, were excavated in 1972, revealing an empty grave, a cremation burial, a pit and a scatter of worked and waste flints. The soil below the cairn was pollen analysed.

Apron Full of Stones, a ring cairn built almost completely of grit and sandstone, is perched on a post-glacial lake shore, the valley having been dammed by a terminal moraine immediately above Thornton Force. During the prehistoric period the floor of this small valley was virtually covered by a braided river streaming over the old lake flats; these surface waters were canalized during the eighteenth-century enclosures in the lower part of the valley. Near the cairn a large wall was built to direct the Kingsdale Beck along the north

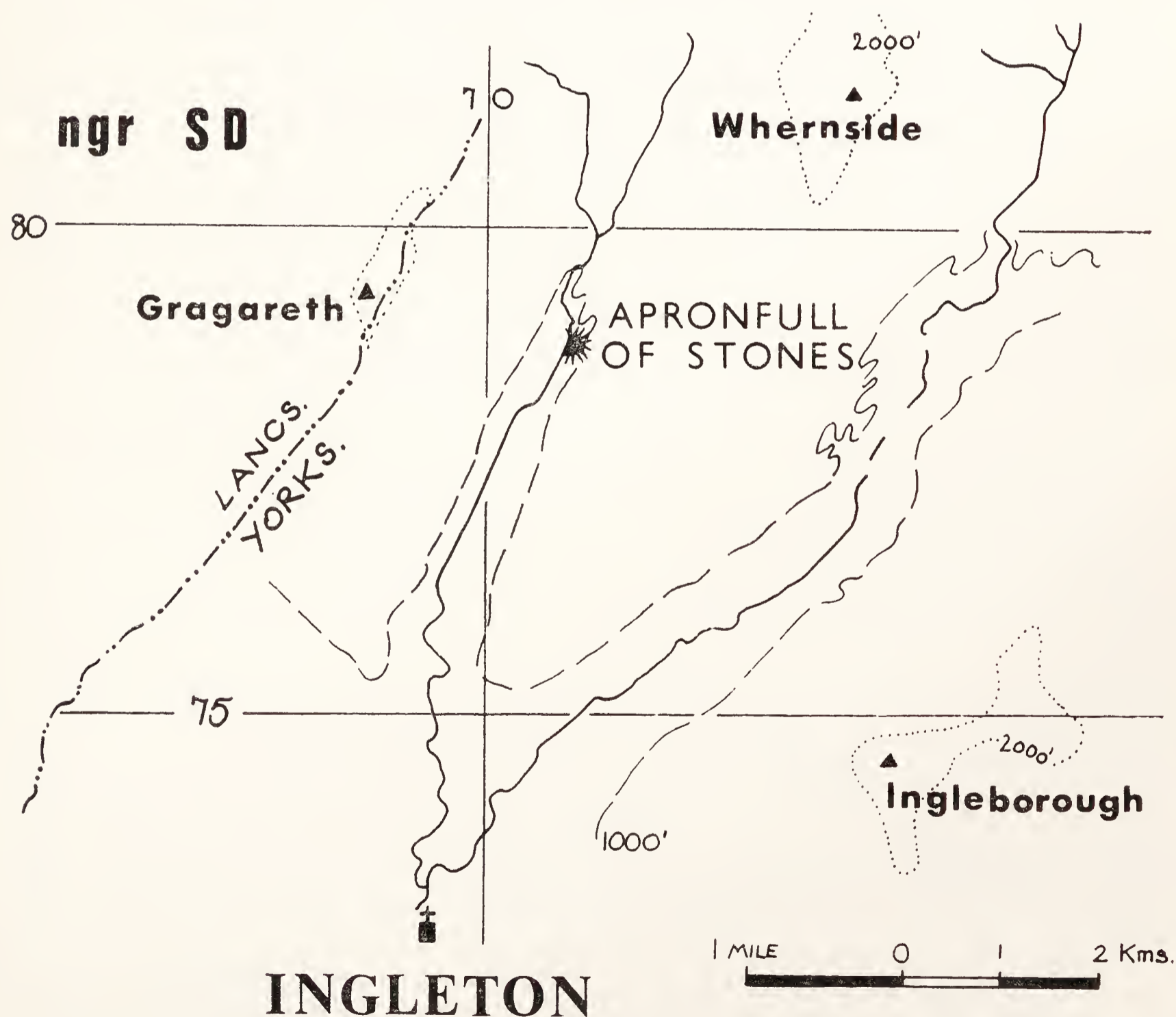
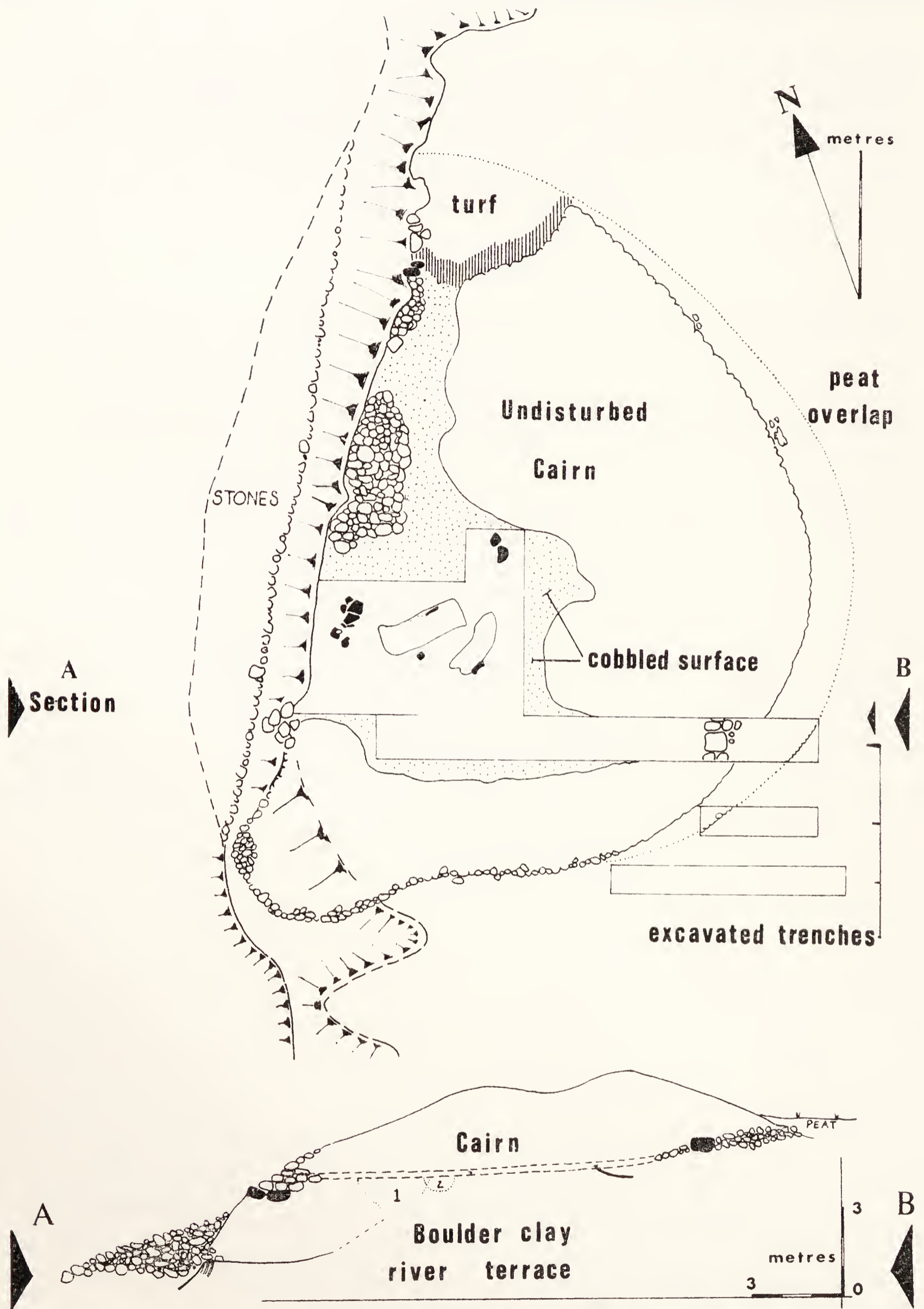


FIG. 1. Apron Full of Stones, location map.



APRONFULL OF STONES

FIG. 2. Plan and section.

eastern side of the valley. Most of the material for this wall apparently came from the top of the cairn, and to aggravate matters the river was made to impinge upon the river bank /lake terrace at the spot where the cairn was built.

Not surprisingly, the cairn was being destroyed and as its core was in danger of slumping into the stream, a rescue excavation was called for by the Department of the Environment. The direction of this work was undertaken by the writer between 10 and 29 July 1972.

Apron Full of Stones is situated near the head of Kingsdale at an altitude of 933 ft (284 m), O.D. (SD 709787). This valley opens to the south-west between the spurs of Whernside and Gragareth (Fig. 1). In 1780 the Rev. Thomas Hutton described Braida Garth as 'on the north side of an high mountain, seldom visited by man, and never by the sun for near half a year. No monk or anchoret could desire a more retired situation . . .'. His party 'saw a large heap of small stones, called an hurder. They had undoubtedly been collected by human hands, and thrown, as a tumulus over some dead person of consequence.'¹ More recent writers have tended to ignore the cairn.²

The monument measures 23–24 m in diameter and it seems likely that up to 6 m has been eroded by the stream from the north-eastern portion. For this reason excavation was concentrated on the western side. Though decapitated, the cairn stood virtually 3 m high atop a river terrace of about the same height. The westernmost part of the cairn spills down to a low river bank and it seems likely that a veneer of stones marked the boulder clay terrace edge from the low-lying ground to the west, giving an exaggerated impression of size. The cairn was not built on a flat site: the floor tilts to the west and, although the eastern side is at a higher level, it is buried beneath upland peat. No surrounding ditch was found to the east.

The cairn appeared to be a construction of a single period, the stones having been graded with the small on top and the large below. It covered completely a kerb of large boulders, the majority weighing over 110 lb (50 kg) each. The pre-cairn surface was of a cream-brown colour. It was a well weathered sandy surface containing so many rounded pebbles that it appeared to be a cobbled floor. Inside the kerb the ground surface, burial and pits had been covered with small, hand-sized slabs of sandstone about 6 in. (15 cm) square, the thickness of that horizon. One upright stone, apparently situated in the centre of the cairn, projected 16 in. (40 cm) above the basal layer. The first layer of the cairn contrasted markedly with the subsequent layer of large, river-rolled stones weighing about 50 lb (22.6 kg) each. These were succeeded by continually smaller sizes; the cairn surface comprised stones 9–12 in. (20–30 cm) in diameter.

The south-western quadrant was excavated, exposing two elongated pits (Fig. 3, Pits 1 and 2). Pit 1 was virtually rectangular with a depth of 110 cm, two stones positioned overlapping one another along both its sides giving it a more rectangular appearance than the actual pit outline. At the bottom the northern side had two upright sandstone slab liners; the pit also yielded two pieces of chert. Pit 2 has a maximum depth of 40 cm, was featureless and contained no archaeological finds. On the pre-cairn surface between the two pits was a sandstone slab.

Flints were more numerous close to the top of the river cliff, where a sub-rectangular grave was found. A kerb of stones 100 cm by 50 cm, some upright and some flat, surrounded a cremation burial beneath two sandstone slabs. The grave contained no finds other than bone fragments laid in a hollow in the boulder clay.

In addition to the cremation and an incised stone, 25 flints and 4 pieces of chert were found, weighing 70 gm. Of the flint fragments 14 were waste, the remainder being illustrated in Fig. 4. All the flakes have been broken including the only one (f) that shows secondary working. In addition two flint cores, two flint gravers or borers and one chert graver or borer were found.

¹ T. Hutton, *Tour of the Caves* (1780).

² H. Speight, *The Craven Highlands* (1892), p. 263 mentions that 'a cairn called Apron-Full of Stones' can be seen from the Kingsdale road.

CENTRAL AREA DETAIL

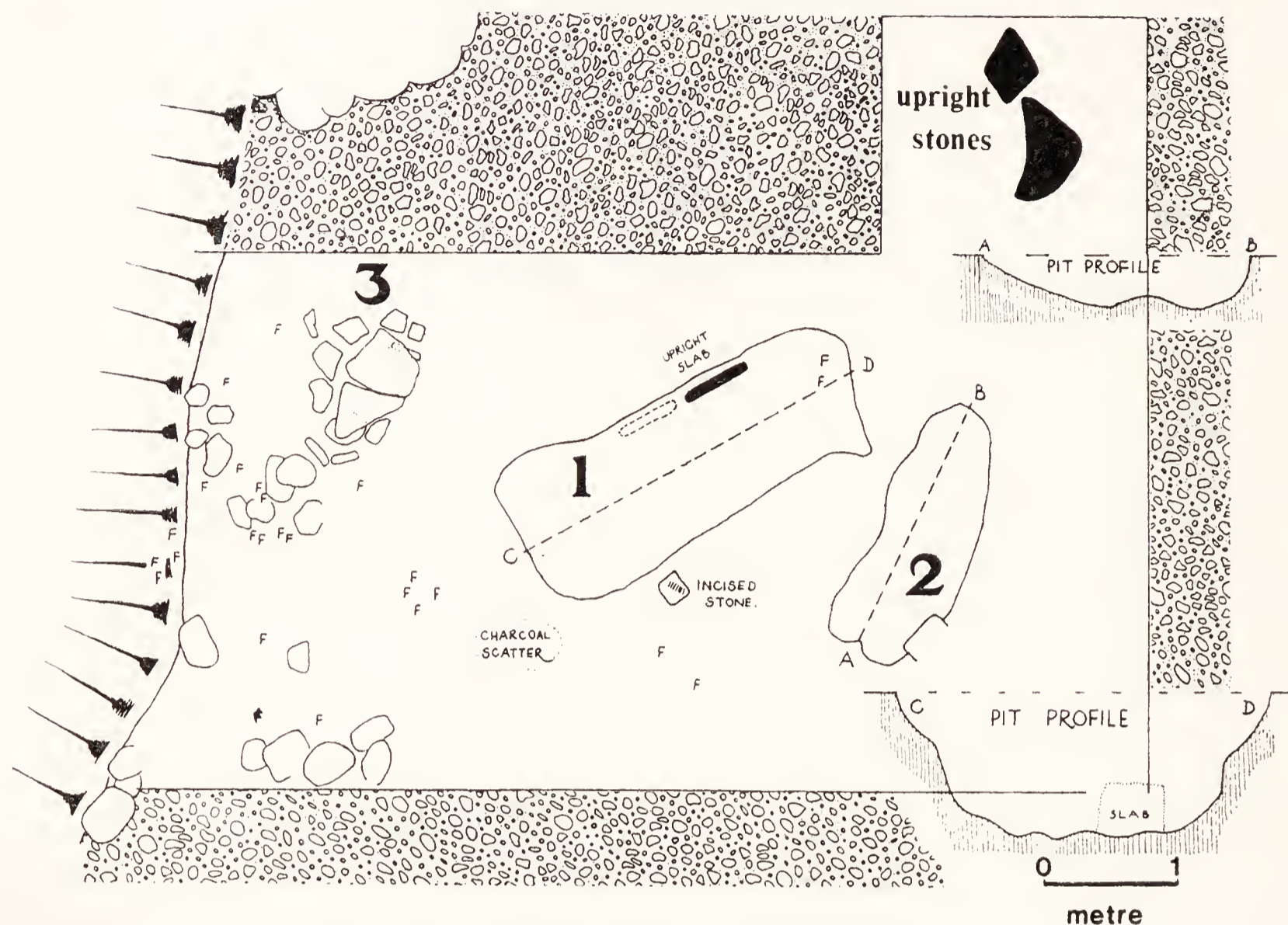


FIG. 3. Apron Full of Stones, central area.

DISCUSSION

The assemblage of poor finds together with the lack of grave goods makes discussion difficult. Nevertheless, the size of Pit 1, assuming that it was used for burial purposes, suggests a primary extended inhumation in a partially lined grave. The sub-rectangular grave appears to be secondary, but was built before the site was sealed by the cairn. Local parallels do not exist, possibly for geological rather than cultural reasons. The exposed Pennine carboniferous limestones and grits contrast with the softer rocks and drift cover of eastern Yorkshire. The excavation of pits for burial or even for grain storage is not generally a feature of the Palaeozoic uplands, and it is helpful to study Savory's distribution map of 'Multiple-cist cairns' with this point in mind.³

Savory considers the few Short-necked Beakers and the limited number of cists to be intrusive elements in the chalklands of East Yorkshire;⁴ certainly the large round barrow with pit graves is the common Bronze Age field monument of that area. The Food Vessel/inhumation tradition rules in the heartland of Manby's 'Yorkshire Archaeological Province', where some graves were timber-lined and some burials placed in tree trunk coffins.⁵

At Levens Park, 23 km north-west of Apron Full of Stones, Sturdy uncovered a grave measuring 190 by 100 cm, containing three beakers and two flint knives.⁶ The pit had been lined with charcoal or planks. The secondary grave pit at Levens was larger than the primary one there, containing a crouched inhumation beneath an enormous boulder. The misfit burial, usually a cremation in a pit large enough to take an extended inhumation, is itself

³ H. N. Savory, in F. Lynch and C. Burgess, *Prehistoric Man in Wales and the West* (1972), pp. 117-139.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁵ T. G. Manby in E. S. Wood, 'The Excavation of a Bronze Age Barrow, North Deighton, Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.* 43, pp. 2-32.

⁶ D. Sturdy, *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 4 (1972), pp. 52-55.

another facet of the Initial Bronze Age tradition of East Yorkshire, and on this evidence it would appear that large round barrows or cairns containing large pit graves extend into the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age burial tradition.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In addition to thanking the many volunteers who worked on the site, especially the younger members of Settle High School, I would like to thank Mrs. Holt and Mr. J. Coates, owner and tenant respectively of Braida Garth Farm for allowing us onto their land, and also Mr. A. L. Bell of the Tatham Estate Office for all his help and advice.

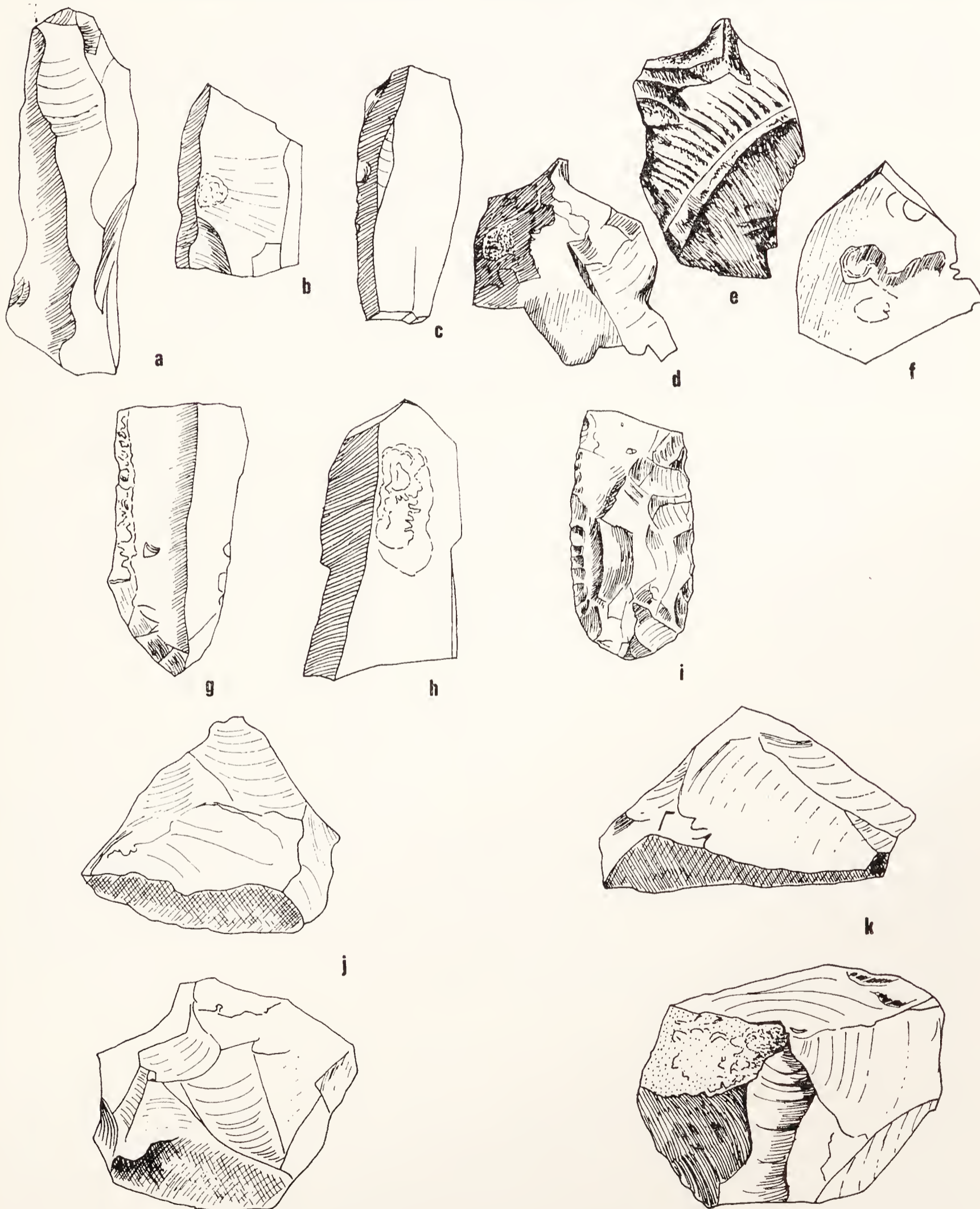


FIG. 4. Flints from Apron Full of Stones.

APPENDIX

POLLEN ANALYSIS OF SOIL BENEATH APRON FULL OF STONES
BURIAL CAIRN, KINGS DALE

BY M. KELLY AND JILL WALSH

Department of Environmental Sciences, University of Lancaster

Three samples were analysed: 1. from the pre-cairn surface; 2. from the flint horizon cobble level; and 3. a cist sample. Pollen was found only in the first two. The results of these are given in Table 1 below in the standard form of percentages of total tree pollen.

TABLE 1
(percentage total tree pollen)

<i>Sample</i>						1	2
Betula	..	..	..	..	..	29	42
Ulmus	..	..	..	..	..	17	25
Quercus	..	..	..	..	..	28	26
Alnus	..	..	..	..	..	14	18
Corylus	..	..	..	..	..	34	70
Gramineae	..	..	..	..	..	80	158
Cyperaceae	..	..	..	..	..	44	43
Plantago lanceolata	..	..	..	..	..	4	9
Rosaceae	..	..	..	..	..	9	6
Calluna	..	..	..	..	..	9	32
Sphagnum	..	..	..	..	..	19	43
Pteridium	..	..	..	..	..	33	55
Dryopteris	..	..	..	..	..	102	118
Total tree pollen	..	..	..	..	..	88	113
Total pollen and spores	..	..	..	..	..	361	667

Conclusions from the palaeobotanical report are as follows. The absence of pollen in the cist sample is consistent with the view that the horizon was a water-deposited, fine, almost white, quartz pebbly sand, the weathered top of a river or lake terrace. The low ratio in both spectra of tree to non-tree pollen shows the impact of Neolithic man on the forest cover. However there is poor control available for this period as a whole and published diagrams are very subject to local influences. Neither Calluna nor Dryopteris are common in this virtually treeless valley at the present time.

EXCAVATIONS OF BARROWS AT LINGMOOR, NEAR HUTTON-LE-HOLE, NORTH YORKSHIRE

BY R. H. HAYES

Summary Three barrows, not shown on O.S. large-scale maps and threatened by ploughing, were excavated in 1969–70. The first, near Lingmoor Farm, produced three cremations in small, fire-reddened pits, one with an axe-hammer. Cup-marked stones were found in the kerb and over the burials. The other two barrows, N.E. of Lingmoor Barn, were ditched earth mounds with no sign of burials and few finds.

Lingmoor is situated on the Corallian Limestone hills which border the north side of the Vale of Pickering, almost midway between Scarborough and the Hambleton Hills at Sutton Bank. The name suggests former moorland and evidence of this was obtained during the excavations. Just south of Lingmoor there was a large area of common called Spaunton Moor on the O.S. maps, but as this was often confused with the much larger area of heather moor of that name to the north it is called locally Appleton Common. The remaining portion, now mainly enclosed arable and cut into by a large limestone quarry, is clothed with bracken, gorse, grass and a little heather, with a scrub of thorn, birch and rowan bushes. This type of vegetation probably covered the whole of the plateaux to Riccal Head, above Hutton-le-Hole.

Although barrows are plentiful on the eastern and western ranges of the limestone hills, few have survived between the rivers Seven and Dove, owing to intensive cultivation starting before Roman times. A small group does survive on the south side of Appleton Common, all dug or opened in the past, or by the Pickering squires in the mid-nineteenth century, unfortunately without leaving any records. One large example at SE 725861 was dug by the trench method in 1947–8 by the Leeds University Anthropological Society and the results were recorded in an unpublished paper by Dr. Vivian D'Andria. It was an earth mound 90 ft in diameter, spread over the stone kerb, 70 ft in diameter. There were some very large boulders on the south-east quadrant. It was 8 ft high in the centre but had been dug at some time in the past and no primary burial was found. A secondary cremation and the base of a Roman jar were found outside the kerb but under the mound.

The excavations described below took place in the winter and spring of 1969–70. 'High Wandales', the field in which two of the mounds were situated, was scheduled for ploughing in 1970 and permission was readily granted by Captain James Holt, the owner, for a party from the Ryedale Folk Museum at Hutton-le-Hole to excavate the sites. He also loaned a machine and driver (J. Barnett) for backfilling. Leslie Davison, the tenant of Marshall's Close, readily gave permission to dig there and helped with the work. Roger Inman drew the plans and sections of the barrows.

BARROW 1, LINGMOOR FARM (SE 713883)

A slight rise at 410 ft O.D. in the pasture field called Marshall's Close on the 1840 Tithe Map was noted by the tenant, Leslie Davison, of Oxclose Farm, who had already picked up many flint implements in the vicinity. He said that stones could be located by probing under the turf at the highest point. The soil is loam and sand on limestone rock about 3 ft down, although a short distance to the west at least 6 ft of clay lies on the natural rock. The field is triangular in shape, probably because an old trackway and footpath—now lost—follows the

south-east boundary fence, marked by a line of oak, ash, pine and sycamore trees. The Lingmoor farm buildings are on this alignment, but the farmhouse, rebuilt in 1769 by the Hornsby family, is on an east-west line.

The centre of the mound (Fig. 1) was 96 ft from the south fence and buildings and 110 ft from the north fence. The mound rises gradually to 8–10 in. high except where the kerb was removed by ploughing on the south-west. This kerb was originally continuous around the tumulus, enclosing an area about 40 ft (12 m) in diameter. The central area was rather rough, possibly where stones from the cairn had been removed. The topsoil was dark brown loam with a sandy subsoil; in the central portion was a scatter of pieces of limestone or calcareous grit. Several were burnt and two proved to be cup-marked (Fig. 2). Under the stones the soil was impregnated with charcoal and ash over a large area. Eight chips of flint (two burnt) and a tiny fragment of pottery only 4 mm in thickness, red-buff in colour, were also found. On removing the stones the outlines of three pits were clearly visible. One (B) was spectacular, a circular filling of charcoal surrounded by a ring of bright red burnt sand 2 in. thick which continued well down the sides of the pit.

Pit A (Fig. 1) was 13 ft from the west kerb and 4 ft 8 in. from the central pit B, 1 ft 10 in. across by 2 ft 6 in. deep. The filling was lumps of charred wood, including some twigs 2–3 in. long, with wood ash and, at 1 foot down, a mass of cremated human bones unaccompanied by any grave goods. According to Dr. T. F. Spence of the Department of Anatomy, Birmingham University, these represented one individual, a man of between 17 and 20 years of age, who may have suffered from rickets. The base of the pit was dug into sandy yellow subsoil, 3 ft 8 in. from the surface of the mound.

Pit B, 4 ft 8 in. south-east of A, lay under a few stones (one cup-marked). Intense burning had taken place in this pit, which was ringed with red burnt sand and was smaller than A—1 ft 4 in. by 1 ft 2 in. in diameter, tapering to 10 in. at the base. In the filling of burnt wood, red sand and a few burnt stones, 2–2½ in. above the base, lay a beautifully made, perforated, stone axe-hammer of syenite (Fig. 3). It was perfect, apart from a small fracture caused by the heat of the pyre, which had tinged it red. Near it were a few scraps of minutely calcined bone, not sent for identification, but which may have been those of a child.

The axe is of the Stourton–Loose Howe type.¹ Similar examples come from Western Howes, near Ralph Cross at 1400 ft O.D. and from Herd Howe, Girrick.² Two others of this class, though larger and cruder, come from Spaunton Manor³ and Sinnington Manor, both within two miles of Lingmoor. Although often called 'Battle-axes', they could just as well have been used for clearing the scrub, for hammering in stakes for huts or fencing, or even as hoes for cultivation. There is no need to derive them from continental types.

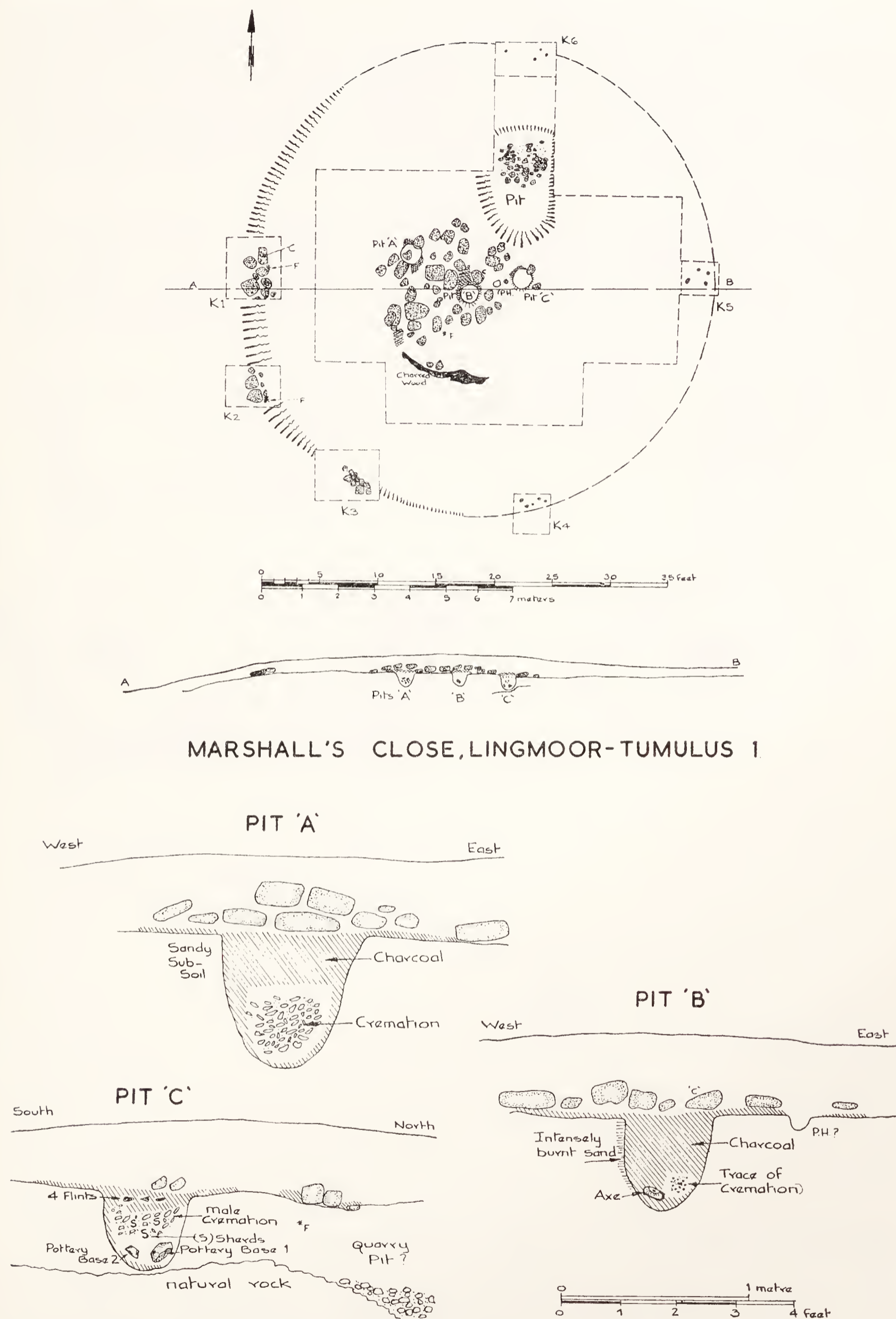
Pit C was 3 ft east-north-east of B, revealed by the removal of the topsoil, 10–12 in. thick. There were few stones apart from two on the outer edge of the pit. Charcoal was spread over an oval area 1 ft 10 in. by 1 ft 6 in. This was removed in layers to show on the south-east side of the filling four calcined tools, probably grave goods (Fig. 3, 4–7). Two were of flint—a barbed and tanged arrowhead, both barbs splintered by the fire, and a plano-convex knife—and two were flake tools of flinty limestone, proof that this material was also utilized. Fragments of cremated bone appeared high up in the filling of the pit; mixed with them at a lower level were crumbling body sherds of coarse pottery, rough and pitted internally but reasonably smooth externally.

At the bottom of the pit, 2 ft 6 in. from the surface of the mound, were two bases (Fig. 3, 2, 3), lying inverted and on one side of the pit. Calcined bones of a young adult, probably a

¹ Ashbee, P., *The Bronze Age Round Barrow in Britain* (1960), pp. 108–9, Fig. 33.

² Elgee, F., *Early Man in North-East Yorkshire* (Gloucester 1930), Pl. XII.

³ Hayes, R. H., 'Spaunton Manor Excavations 1960–64' (to be published). For the axe-hammers see *Y.A.J.* 41 (1964) 174 and 42 (1969), 246 and Fig. 1, p. 239. A similar axe-hammer in micro-granite or porphyry came from a peat cutting in Solway Moss: *Trans. Cumb. and West. Ant. and Arch. Soc.*, n.s. 55 (1956), 317, Figs. 1–3.



MARSHALL'S CLOSE, LINGMOOR-TUMULUS 1

FIG. 1. Plan of Barrow I, Lingmoor, and sections of pits.
N.B. Burnt sand surrounds all three pits almost to their bases.

male, were identified from the cremation. As no rim sherds were found, but only bases and pieces of the sides of pots, it is unlikely that they were intact when placed in the pit. The body sherds were too fragmentary to restore and showed no decoration. It is likely that they were token offerings in lieu of complete vessels. The method of cremation was the same as in Pit A: fires were lit in the pit before the ash and charcoal with the calcined bones from the pyre were placed on top and the four tools were laid level before the cairn was heaped over the pits.

On extending the excavation to the south, a large piece of charred oak timber about 7 ft (2.13m) long, 8-11 (20-27cm) in. wide and $\frac{5}{8}$ in. thick was found of 1 ft below the turf level. It appeared to have an angled joint or cut about halfway from the thicker end. It probably came from the funeral pyre, though Bert Frank pointed out its resemblance to a cruck beam; had others turned up we might have concluded that it was part of a hut or mortuary house. No other finds came from this area apart from three tiny flint chippings.

Just north of Pit C we found a small pit in the natural rock, possibly where stone was quarried for the cairn or kerb. During the following winter the central area was re-dug, but no more pits were found and only a few tiny flints and fragments of pottery.

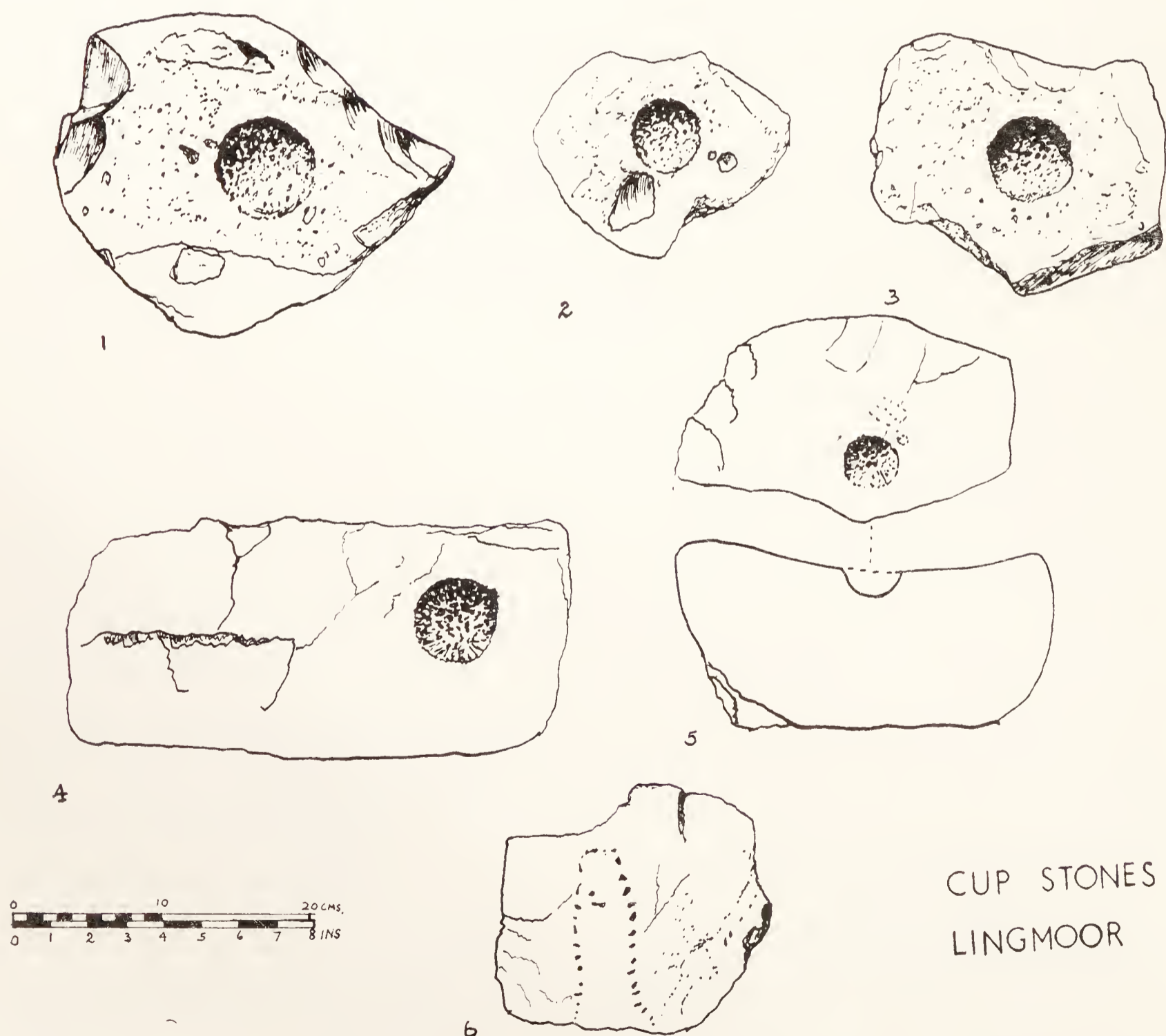
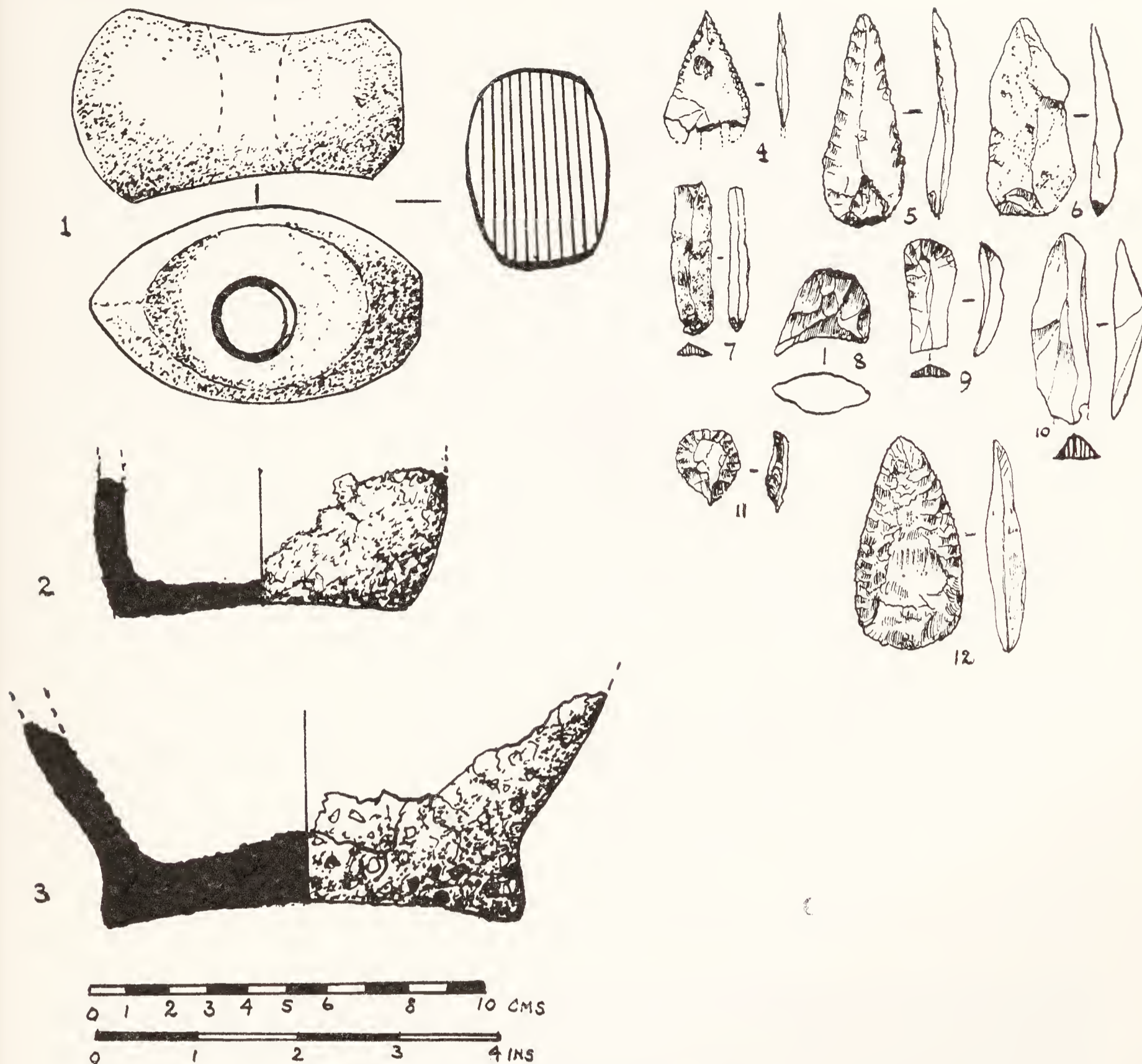


FIG. 2. Cup Stones from Barrow 1, Lingmoor, and nearby: $\frac{1}{6}$.

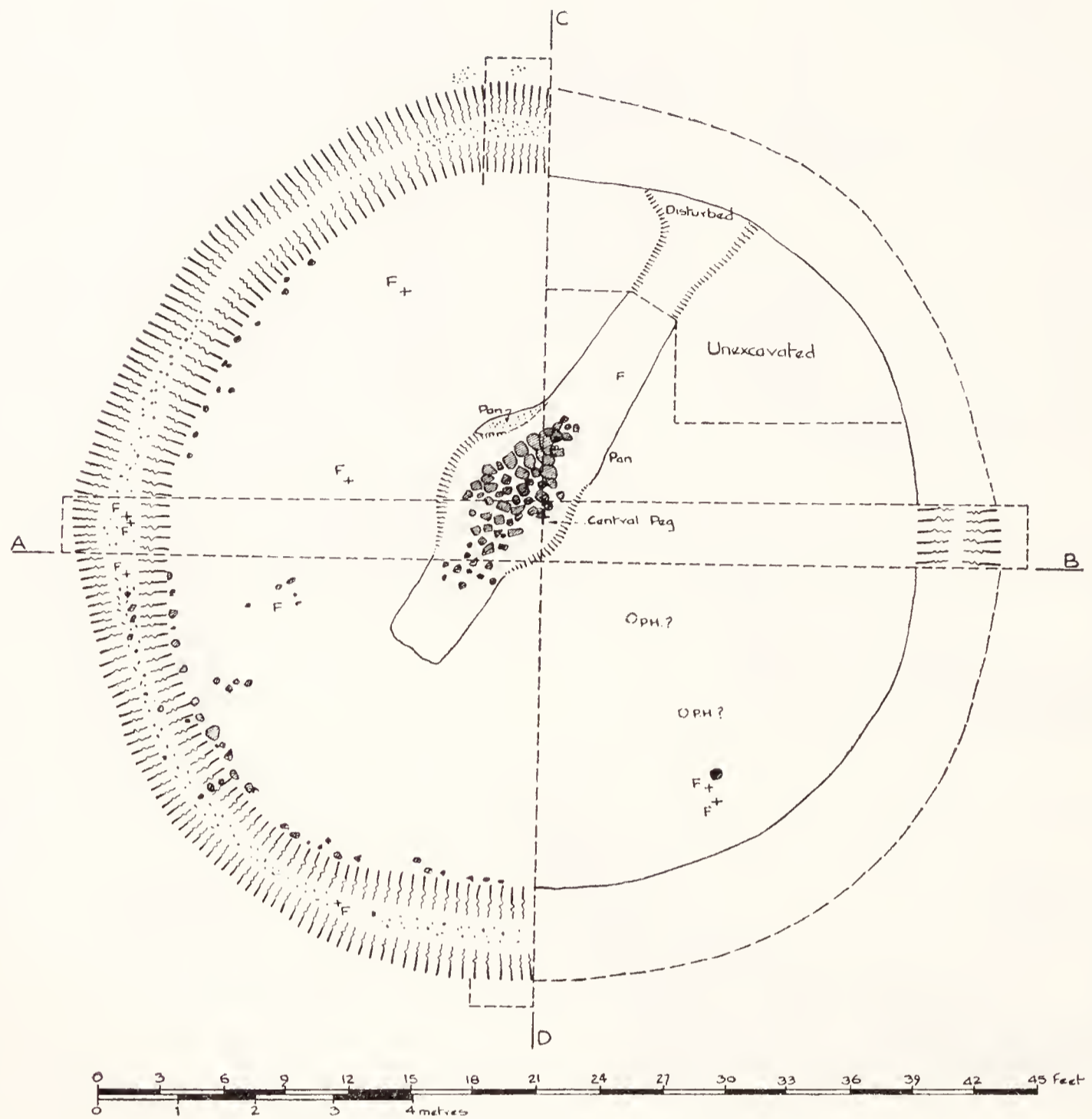
FIG. 3. Finds from Barrow 1, Lingmoor: $\frac{1}{2}$.

BARROW 1A, LINGMOOR BARN (SE 719883)

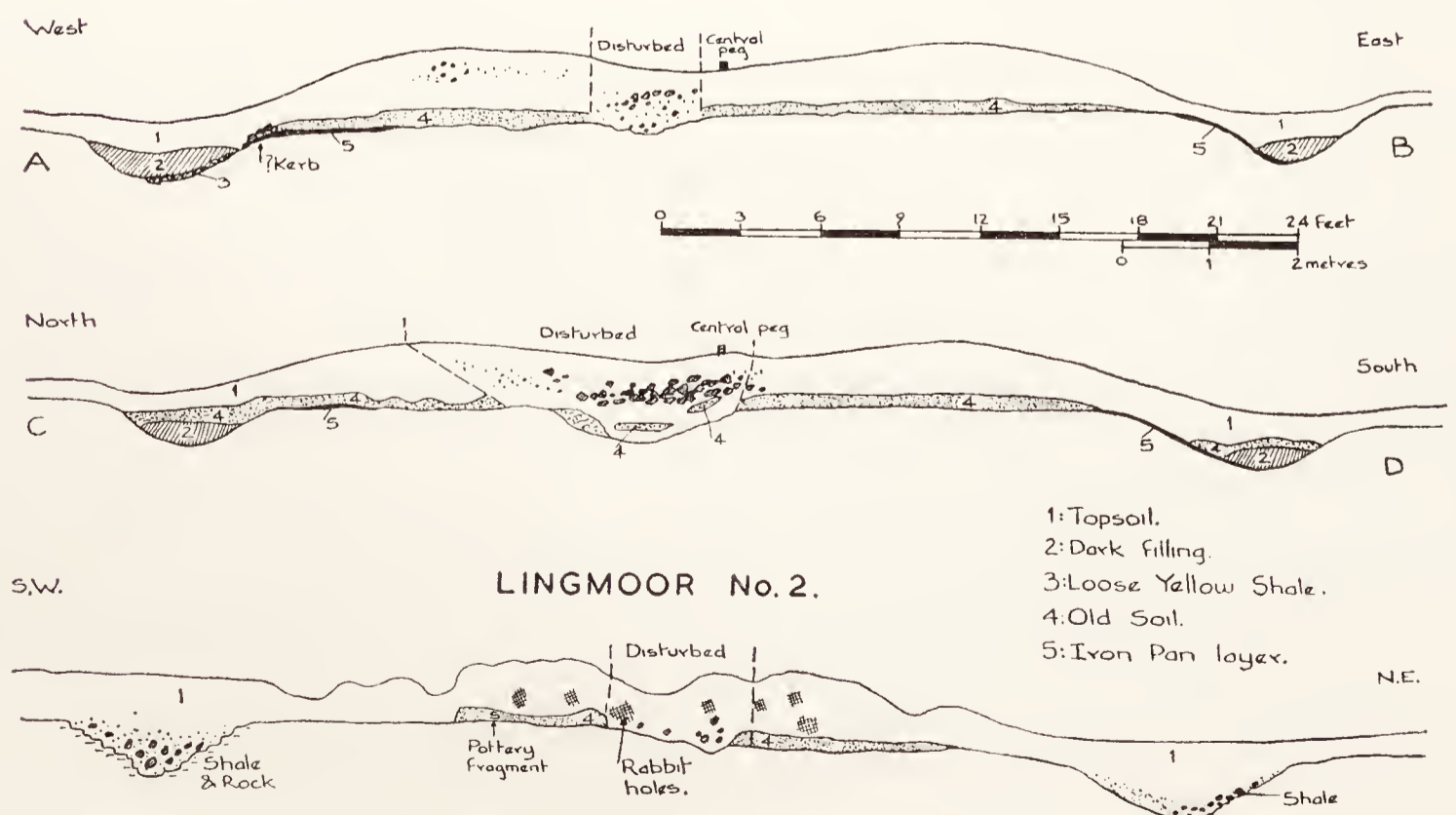
The barrow was situated on dry, level ground on the 400-foot contour line and in the north-west corner of a large pasture field called 'High Wandales' or 'Wandills'.⁴ It was screened from the old road to Spaunton by a belt of ancient holly trees. It was not marked on the O.S. maps and passed unnoticed until Terry Frank, who acted as shepherd and cattle man for the Holt Estate, pointed it out to the writer in about 1946. It was a low, rather flat-topped mound with a slight depression running north-east to south-west across the centre, 36 ft (11 m) in diameter and 2 to 2 ft 3 in. (60 to 90 cm) high. A ditch was visible on the north and south-west sides, 42 ft in diameter overall and just over 5 ft in width.

The mound was divided into quadrants and work began with the south-west quadrant. It was covered with 6-9 in. of topsoil, then by a layer of small stones and yellow shale

⁴ Wandales. There are three large fields of that name, the 'Doles' or shared-out strips of the common fields, but, these are far from a village—at least a mile from both Spaunton and Appleton and a quarter of a mile from Lingmoor Farm. There is no evidence of the barn ever having been a dwelling house, but a quarter of a mile to the south where the first Wandale field begins is Southet Hill, the Southuses of the fourteenth century, which might denote the site of a small community—some remains of buildings existed here until recently.



LINGMOOR BARN-BARROW No. 1A.



LINGMOOR No. 2.

FIG. 4. Plan and sections of Barrow 1a, Lingmoor Farm, and section of Barrow 2.

coming from the base of the ditch (Fig. 4). Under 6 in. of brown sub-soil was a layer of 8–10 in. of dark grey humus—the ancient soil. Near the edge of the ditch this layer was even blacker and remains of bracken and heather were found. On the inner edge of the ditch a few larger stones were laid, forming a very slight kerb, though this was not present in the north-west or south-east quadrants. Iron pan had formed at the base of the ancient soil and on the edges of the ditch. There were very few burnt stones, no charcoal, and only a few flints in the topsoil—two scrapers and three chippings and flakes, one calcined.

The ditch was cleared over the entire south-west quadrant. It varied in width from 4 ft 9 in. to almost 6 ft (1.83 m) and was 1 ft 10 in. to 2 ft deep in the centre. It was shallow and U-shaped, cut into weathered calcareous grit or argillaceous limestone. The filling, below a layer of small shaley pebbles, perhaps due to worm action, was dark brown or grey, over a layer of rubble from the weathered sides and 2–4 in. of grey silt at the bottom. Very few finds came from the ditch—only one good scraper and a serrated saw-flake.

The north-west quadrant was cleared to the natural sub-soil, as was the ditch section. The layer of small rubble and stones under 6–8 in. of topsoil was similar to that in the south-west quadrant. It lay on top of the band of dark grey, soft and silty humus, perhaps the ancient soil, contrasting with the yellow natural shale below. A few burnt stones and rounded lumps of limestone in the rubble layer and the odd scrap of charcoal were noted, but apart from one tiny scrap of featureless red-buff pottery and two chips of flint there were no finds in the mound or ditch.

The disturbed central area showed that a cutting about 27 ft long had been made from the north-east. It tapered from 2–3 ft in width to an oval pit 4 ft 6 in. across at the centre of the mound (Fig. 4). Its edge was clearly defined by the absence of the ancient soil on its line. A wedge-shaped collection of stones 7 ft long and 1 to 2 ft 6 in. wide filled the widest part of this cutting just west of our central peg. This was carefully removed, as it looked like the filling of an inhumed burial. The stones were of medium size, averaging 6 in. by 4 in. to 4 in. by 3 in., very few of them being burnt, and the layer was about 1 ft thick, though a few projected lower, on top of a dark filling at the base of the pit—very like the ancient soil

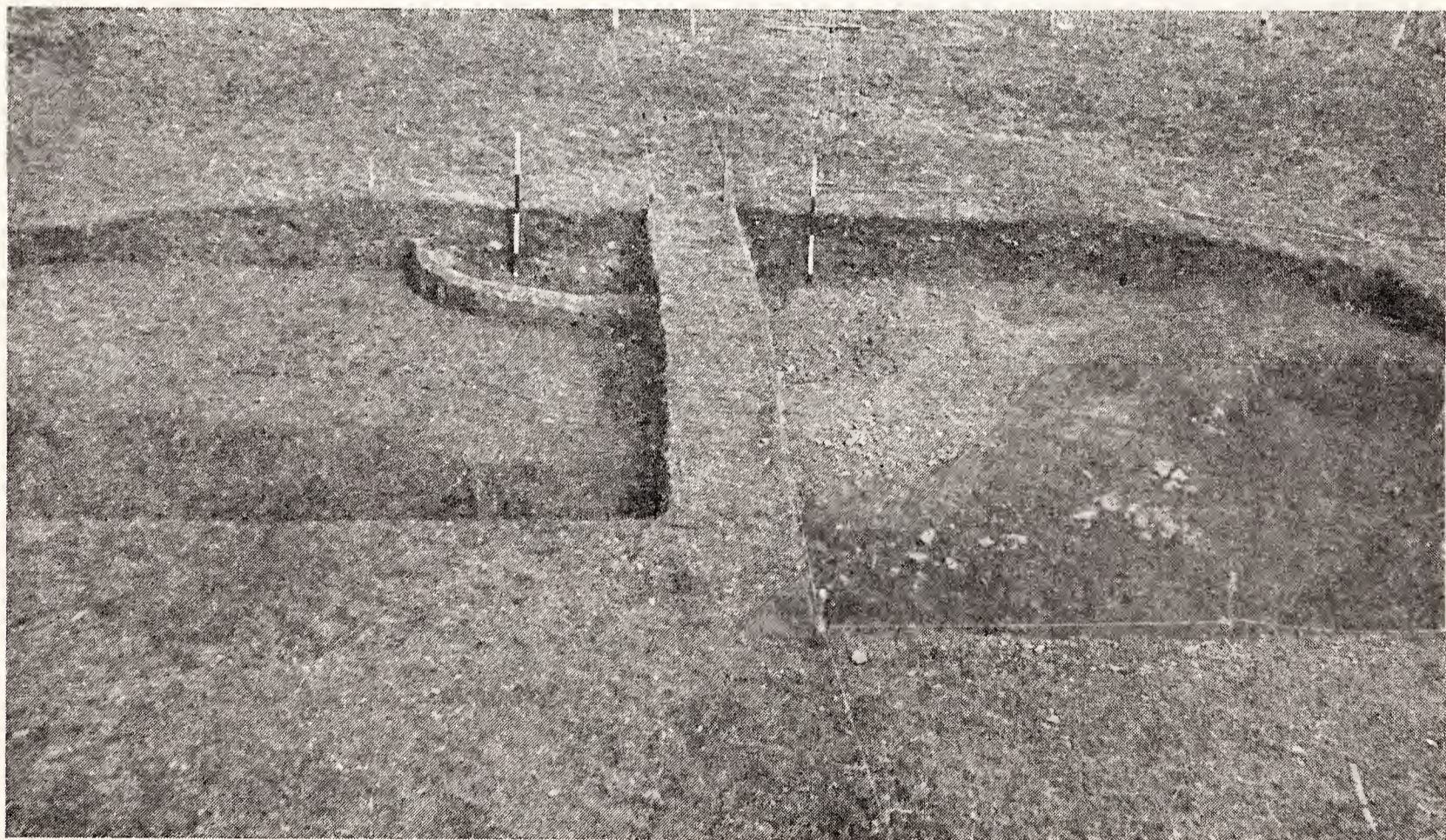


FIG. 5. Barrow 1a, Lingmoor Farm: N.W. and S.W. quadrants during excavation. The curved baulk encloses the disturbed central area. *Photo: R. H. Hayes.*

layer. There was no sign of bone or cremations and no pottery or artifacts, just one flint chipping. The pit was 6–8 ft across and 3 ft 6 in. deep at the centre of the cutting. It had a band of light silt on the north-west side with silty grey lumps of clay in places. It was lined by iron pan in places on its sides. If it was a robber trench it was singular that the layer of stones was compact and not scattered all over the trench. We wondered if this feature could have been the remains of a collapsed mortuary house or of a cairn disturbed by robbers. Granted that the burial was by inhumation in the absence of cremated bones, this might have been the case.

The north-east and south-east quadrants were dug but finds were nil. The same sequence of construction was evident as in the opposite quadrants and there were two possible stake-holes 4–5 in. across in the south-east quadrant. The ditch was not fully cleared, apart from two sections. The north section showed that it was cut into the yellow shale to a depth in the centre of 2 ft 3 in. It was U-shaped, 6 ft in width with the lower 9 in. sealed by a thin line of leached iron pan.⁶ There were a few stones in the upper filling but otherwise the filling was uniform and dark. The east section was of similar dimensions with no finds. On the south the ditch made rather an angular turn from the south-west quadrant and was well inside the apparent edge of the mound. It was 7 ft wide and 2 ft deep, U-shaped, with rather more rubble at the base than elsewhere.

BARROW 2, LINGMOOR BARN

This mutilated mound, called “T’ rabbit hill” by Terry Frank, was certainly riddled by rabbit burrows and disturbed by rabbit catchers up to 1956. It was about 150 ft south-east of Barrow 1A, an earthen mound 36 ft in diameter and 2 ft high. When tenched it produced a ditch very similar to that of 1A, shallow and U-shaped in the north-east section, 9 ft wide and 3 ft deep. On the south-west side it was cut into shaley rock and the lower 12 in. had much rubble and small stones in its filling. The same hard layer appeared below the topsoil and there was a dark grey, silty old soil at the base, where it had not been disturbed by numerous rabbit holes and by a central disturbance. There was no sign of the band of stones in the central area found under 1A. In the two trenches taken across the mound there was not a single piece of flint, but in the old soil near the centre was a tiny scrap of thin, black-cored, red-buff pottery, not unlike Early Bronze Age Beaker ware.

FINDS FROM BARROW 1 (Figs. 2, 3)

1. Perforated axe-hammer of Ashbee’s Stourton–Loose Howe type. Identified by G. W. Goodall as of syenite (fine-grained granite). Reddened by cremation fire but otherwise in good condition. 8.5 cm long, 4.8 cm thick; hole 2 cm across, slightly tapered towards the centre. The butt end is very well shaped. Found with very few fragments of calcined bone at base of Pit B.
 2. Base of small urn or food vessel, 7–8 cm (3 in.) in diameter and 7 mm thick; 3 cm of the body survives and some crumbling fragments. From bottom of Pit C.
 3. Broken base of large urn, 10 cm (4 in.) in diameter and 12 mm thick. About 4 cm of the body is left. Brown-orange and pitted, with stones in fabric. Found inverted at bottom of Pit C.
 - 4–7. From top of Pit C:
 4. Finely-worked barbed and tanged flint arrowhead, 3 cm long by 2 cm, with 18–20 serrations on the sides. Calcined, with tang broken off and barbs splintered by heat.
 5. Plano-convex flint knife, 5.4 cm long by 2 cm, with one side smoothed. Calcined. Cf. 12 below.
 6. Knife of sharp flinty limestone, 5 cm long by 2–3 cm.
 7. Calcined flake of similar limestone, with triangular section.
- The latter pieces perhaps show that local flinty stone was used for grave goods, if not for ordinary use.
8. Broken end of oval scraper in grey-brown flint, found in soil over pits.
 9. Worked end scraper in good brown flint, found in soil over pits.
 10. Utilised flake of similar flint, found near cup-stones.
 11. Small thumb scraper, diameter 17 mm, well flaked round the edge.

Altogether 44 pieces of flint were found during the excavation of this mound, in contrast to their paucity in Barrows 1A and 2.

⁵ Hayes, R. H., *The Chambered Cairn on Great Ayton Moor*, Scarborough and Dist. Arch. Soc., Research Report 7. 1969.

⁶ Hornsby, W. and Stanton, R., ‘British Barrows near Brotton’, *Y.A.J.* 24 (1917), p. 267, Figs. 5 and 6.

12. Plano-convex flint knife, beautifully flaked and polished, in dark brown flint. Found about 300 ft. south-west of Marshall's Close by T. Frank in 1940.

Many arrowheads of both leaf-shaped and barbed and tanged types, and over 30 scrapers have been found by L. Davison in fields to the north of Lingmoor. Also found were three scraps of grey-cored buff pottery, perhaps Romano-British, a sherd of pimply buff ware, possibly early medieval, two green-glazed body sherds and three pieces of clay pipes. The collection of flint implements from Lingmoor and Oxclose Farms, all the cup-marked stones, all other finds and a replica of Pit C are in the Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole.

Cup-stones

1. Stone 24 cm by 19 cm by 9 cm thick, with peck-marked surface and cup diam. 6 cm and 3 cm deep. Over Pit B.
2. Calcareous sandy-yellow-buff gritstone, 18 by 14 cm by 5 cm thick, with cup diam. 2 cm and 1.3 cm deep. In kerb on south.
3. Sandy stone as 2., 19 by 17 cm by 22 cm thick, pecked surface and cup diam. 5 cm and 3 cm deep. Between Pits A and B.
4. Rectangular block of sandstone or sandy limestone, 34 by 15 cm by 10-12 cm thick. Cup diam. 5.5 cm by 4 cm deep, pecked out but no pecking on rest of stone. From kerb on west.
5. Used and broken part of saddle quern of hard, fine-grained freestone, perhaps from moors. Surface smoothed by use and burnt on one side. 22 cm by 14 cm by 12 cm thick, with cup diam. 3-3.4 cm and 2 cm deep. Found in field hedge to north after removal from field during ploughing.
6. Piece of calcareous grit with bands of limestone and groove 11 cm long and 2 cm wide, and other markings. This is probably a fertility emblem. Found among stones over Pits A and B.

FINDS FROM BARROW 1A

1. Round scraper of light grey flint, oval in section with hollow for finger and thumb. From topsoil in south-west quadrant, with three chippings.
2. Scraper, round-worked on one side, the other smoother and polished.
3. Oval flint with secondary working on side. From central area, 1 ft. 4 in. deep.
4. Core scraper in light blue-grey Wold? flint. In buried soil in north-west quadrant.
5. Large oval scraper in grey mottled flint with crude flaking all round and ends smoothed. In filling of ditch on south-west.
6. Crude knife in mottled Wold? flint. From north-west quadrant.
7. Serrated saw-like flake, triangular in section. In bottom of ditch on south.

About 20 flint flakes and some cores were found. Only two or three were calcined, one scraper was pitted, but the rest were unweathered. The number of scrapers may point to a community living mainly by hunting. From the central area there was also found a large oval quartz pebble, 6.5 by 5.5 cm by 3 cm thick. The three tiny scraps of pottery have been described above.

Cup-marked symbols on stones and cists are often found in pre-Roman burial mounds. W. Hornsby found eight over a grave containing a tree-trunk coffin at Howe Hill, Brotton; one stone had two cups on either side. In some cases the cups were placed downwards; at Hinderwell Beacon Hornsby found no less than 150 cup-stones in one mound. In 1869 Greenwell, Monkman and Pycock dug five barrows near Wass Bank, two of which produced cup-stones, some with only one cup, others with six to eight in rows, while a third barrow had 'scores' of cup-stones. Hornsby suggested that they might be tributes to the dead like wreaths at the present day. Another theory is that they were lamps, but there is not much evidence of burning on them. More elaborate cup-markings may be seen on natural rocks at Alan Tofts, Goathland, on Ilkley Moor, and near Scarborough (examples in Scarborough Museum).

A border farmer in the nineteenth century always poured out a drop of cream into the cup-stone for the local 'brownie'. This suggests an offering to the elves and hobmen thought to inhabit burial mounds.

APPENDIX

THE CREMATED REMAINS FROM LINGMOOR, HUTTON-LE-HOLE

BY T. F. SPENCE

INTRODUCTION

Fragments of cremated human bones are recovered in the United Kingdom from cemeteries and sites which are often dated as Bronze Age or to the latter part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age. In some cases these fragments have been crushed before interment, while in others it appears that the bones are broken and split only as a result of the heat generated

by the pyre. The latter fragments are, of course, very much bigger pieces of bone and consequently identification is not only more straightforward but also any abnormal conditions can be seen more readily identified.

For purposes of identification cremated fragments can usually be divided into three categories. These are: pieces of bone which can be clearly identified; fragments consisting of long bone shafts (which particular long bone is often in doubt); and unidentified portions of charred bone. Classical works concerned with cremation analysis are those by Gejvall and Lisowski.⁷

In analysis, attention is concentrated on that proportion of the fragments which can be identified, for it is now recognised that many similar structures from different cremation burial sites, appear to have a high rate of survival despite the fact that the proportion of identifiable remains varies.⁸ The fundamental questions to which answers must be attempted are related to the number of individuals that a given cremation represents, their age, sex and any associated pathological conditions.

The bone fragments reported on are from Tumulus No. 1 at Lingmoor, Hutton-le-Hole and are from Pits A and C.

METHOD

Although these fragments had been cleaned before arrival in this laboratory, there were certain areas and structures which were clogged with foreign matter (particularly, the tooth sockets and the sutural borders of the bones associated with the skull vault); under these circumstances it was considered worthwhile to further wash the fragments in an ultrasonic machine using the method described by Spence and Tonkinson.⁹ Drying was carried out in the usual manner.

The fragments were then sorted, classified and weighed. After classification (and where possible) reconstruction was attempted. A note was made of all identifiable material, paying particular attention to features which would give an estimate of the number of individuals cremated and information about their age and sex. At the same time the remains were scrutinised for abnormalities of a pathological nature.

RESULTS

Identification information

Cremation 1 in the lower half of Pit A.

Analysis

The colour of these fragments varies from white to grey. There is no blackening of the material. The bone is brittle.

The total weight of the cremation is 780 g. made up of:

Weight of unidentifiable fragments:	100 g.
Weight of long bone shafts:	380 g.
Weight of identifiable fragments:	300 g.

From the *skull* there are several fragments of the vault—many with serrated sutural edges. There are also several pieces of the maxilla and palatine bones. In the former the tooth sockets are clear and empty. No evidence can be seen of dental abscesses.

The *vertebral column* is represented by several relatively large pieces of the vertebral bodies, some of which show a degree of lipping and malformation. There is one spinous process and three pedicles from different cervical vertebrae. There is a fragment of a superior articular process from a thoracic vertebra.

Representing the *thorax* are many fragmented rib shafts. Reconstruction is not possible. A large part of the first left rib is intact.

There are some fragments of the phalanges in which epiphyseal lines can be observed.

From the *pelvic girdle*, a large piece of the innominate bone can be seen. It consists of most

of the ischial tuberosity with a little of the surrounding bone. Two small pieces from the same bone can be identified as being from the region of the blade of the ilium. Finally there are two further fragments from below the symphysis pubis—that is the pubic part of the bone.

The rest of the *lower extremity* is represented by (i) parts of the condyles of the left femur together with a fragment of the distal end of the same bone, (ii) by three fragments of the proximal end of the tibia (the head), (iii) by two pieces of the proximal end of the fibula (the head) and (iv) by a piece of the superior part of the talus and many fragments of metatarsals.

No. of individuals cremated

It is probable that these remains represent one individual

Age Between 17 and 20 years

Sex Male

Associated pathological conditions

The individual may have suffered from Rickets.

Identification information

Cremation No. 2 from Pit C.

Analysis

These fragments are mainly off-white in colour with no sign of blueing due to intense heat. In size they are rather large and in texture, hard. The overall weight of this cremation is 390 g, made up as follows:

Weight of unidentifiable fragments: 55 g.

Weight of long bone shafts: 160 g.

Weight of identifiable fragments: 175 g.

The *skull* is represented by a number of vault fragments with clear serrated sutural edges. There is a piece of the occipital bone at the level of the external occipital protuberance. Parts of the mandible can be seen; the largest is from the region of the retromolar triangle (becoming the coronoid process) while another big piece is from the area near to the lingula. Part of the temporal bone is present. (It is from the petrous section and includes the internal auditory foramen.) There is a small part of the maxilla including some of the alveolar margin. The upper facial skeleton is represented by a fragment of the orbital border of the frontal bone which includes a fairly heavy piece of the supra-orbital ridge.

Several fragments of the *upper extremity* are present mostly from the middle and lower third of the shaft of the humerus.

No. of individuals cremated

?? One

Age Young adult

Sex ?? Male

Associated pathological conditions

Nil noted. Some straight scratchlike marks were observed on two or three of the long bone shafts—quite unlike the elliptical heat cracks usually associated with cremations.

Other remarks

It is unlikely that these fragments were crushed after cremation.

A GRAVE-GROUP FROM LEVISHAM MOOR, NORTH YORKSHIRE

BY STEPHEN PIERPOINT AND PATRICIA PHILLIPS

Summary An unpublished grave-group of c.1500 B.C. from Levisham Moor, now in the British Museum, is described and its affinities are discussed. Associations of battle-axes with barbed-and-tanged arrowheads in Yorkshire barrows and of plano-convex knives with urns in North Yorkshire burials are set out in tables.

The British Museum has in its possession a small group of associated finds (battle-axe, 'plano-convex knife' and barbed-and-tanged arrowhead) from a barrow on Levisham Moor, North Yorkshire. The moor is covered today with bracken and heather on its upper reaches (maximum height 900 ft O.D.), and seems to be mainly used for sheep-rearing, while small areas on the gentle slopes to the south towards Levisham village are cultivated as arable.

The barrow finds come from a collection made by C. T. Trechmann, a Fellow of the Geological Society, who 'contributed much to the prehistoric archaeology of north-east England'.¹ Levisham Moor still has a number of barrows (11 are marked on the 6 in. O.S. map SE 89 SW), but there were probably others, now quarried (or excavated) away. Excavations took place from at least the mid-nineteenth century, led by the Vicar of Levisham, the Reverend Robert Skelton. The British Museum also has in its possession a box of 26 flints, 'found in a barrow on Levisham Moor, . . . in 1851, by the Reverend Robert Skelton'. Three Food Vessels from Levisham Moor and from the nearby Lockton moors are now in the Yorkshire Museum (Mitchelson Collection). Other leaf and barbed-and-tanged arrowheads are known from the two moors, plus a Beaker dagger and a polished flint knife from Lockton.

The battle-axe, barbed-and-tanged arrowhead and 'plano-convex knife' were found, according to a label attached to them, 'in a reversed urn with a burnt body at the centre of a barrow'. The exact location of the barrow is not indicated, and the urn's present whereabouts is unknown. However, Mrs. Margaret Smith has kindly drawn our attention to an account of the opening of seven barrows in the neighbourhood of Levisham by the Reverend Skelton.² According to this account, a 'beautiful small stone war axe, and some arrowheads' were found beneath an inverted urn at the bottom of a tumulus, 'on the west brow looking down into Newton Dale'. It is possible that this may be the grave-group described here, the slender knife having been regarded as an arrowhead. At least three of the barrows marked on the 6 in. O.S. map would fit the geographical description.

The battle-axe measures 127 by 57 mm, with a blade height of 43 mm and a height at perforation of 33 mm. It is highly polished to a dark-grey colour, and is one of a number of Yorkshire axes recently thin-sectioned by courtesy of the British Museum. Dr. Cummins has kindly identified its petrology as Group XVIII (probably Whin Sill, Northumberland). Other battle-axes in Yorkshire recently thin-sectioned and identified as to source area are of Group XVIII and the Midlands Group XII origin (one and two battle-axes respectively).³ The battle-axe has a slightly expanded blade and a neatly squared-off butt (Fig. 1a). The shafthole is cylindrical and suggests careful and time-consuming workmanship. When compared with the sample of shafthole implements measured by Roe,⁴ it actually lies

¹ Obituary of Charles Taylor Trechmann, *Proceedings of the Geological Society of London* 1628 (1965), pp. 207-8.

² Anon., 'Yorkshire barrows', *Gentleman's Magazine* 37 (1852), p. 78.

³ P. Phillips, W. Cummins and L. Keen, Second Report on Yorkshire Implement Petrology (forthcoming).

⁴ F. E. S. Roe, 'The Battle-Axe series in Britain', *P.P.S.* 32 (1966), pp. 199-245.

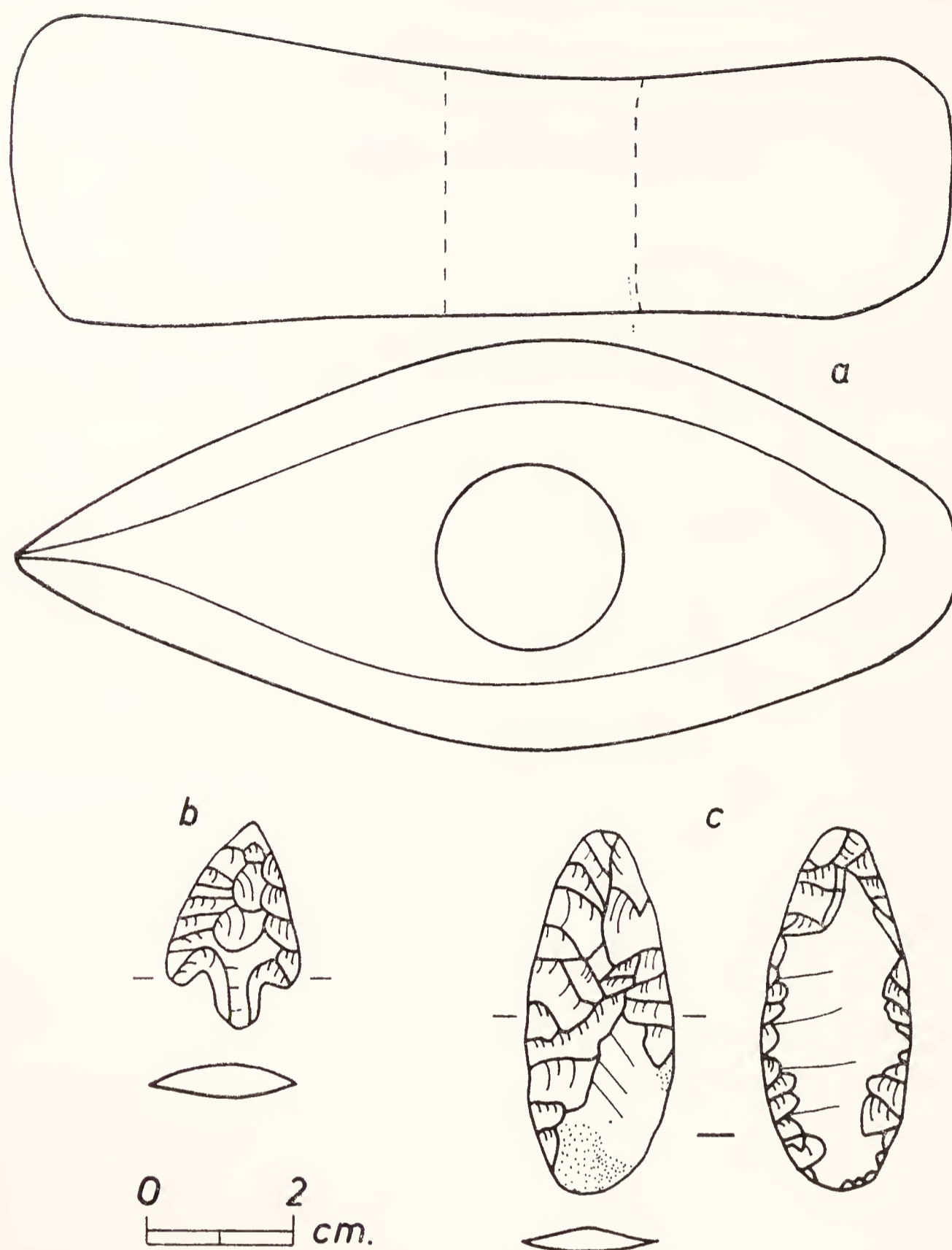


FIG. 1. A grave-group from Levisham Moor.

between the two main concentrations, but fits slightly better into the 'battle-axe' than into the 'axe-hammer' group. The quality of its finish would also suggest its inclusion in the first group. In Roe's terms, it is a Type IID battle-axe.

The barbed-and-tanged arrowhead measures 26 by 19 by 4 mm. It has slight barbs, the left one slightly thicker than the right (Fig. 1b), and the distal point is slightly off-centre. The tang is well-developed. Both the dorsal and ventral faces are covered with flat invasive retouch. The arrowhead is manufactured in a translucent pale grey flint.

The 'plano-convex knife' is manufactured on a fine flake, and measures 49 by 19 by 2 mm. The dorsal face is covered over two-thirds of its surface by extremely fine retouch, but the distal right side is partly covered with cortex, and partly polished smooth. It is not a true plano-convex knife, in that the ventral surface bears a series of flat retouch scars around the perimeter, while the central zone is highly polished. The original flint colour is not visible through the even white patina.

Table I (both tables were compiled by S. Pierpoint) lists comparative finds made in similar circumstances. Shafthole implements of the Bronze Age have been found in 17

Yorkshire barrow burials: in nine cases the battle-axes accompanied cremations, and in four cases inhumation burials. Once the battle-axe had been burnt with the body, but normally they had been placed in the grave separately.

Barbed-and-tanged arrowheads have been found on frequent occasions in burial contexts, although they are not associated with battle-axe finds in the cases given in the appendix. However, they are often found with spearheads, knives, jet, Beakers, Food Vessels and Collared Urns, like the battle-axes.

Plano-convex knives are reported from many locations, but there is no standard usage, and probably many flakes are included under this heading.⁵ Table 2 lists 8 artifacts which correspond to Clark's definition of 'plano-convex knives'.⁶ In North Yorkshire they are generally found with cremation burials. Plano-convex knives are found associated with Collared Urns, jet and bronze, but among the many claimed plano-convex knives not listed, there are also many associations with Food Vessels.

The particular group of finds under discussion here is unique among Yorkshire barrow groups, therefore, but hypotheses about the individual they were buried with can be made from the data given in the appendix. All the identified bodies with battle-axes or barbed-and-tanged arrowheads are those of adult males (the Goodmanham 89 burial contained the burnt remains of a 'young person about 18 years of age' with the battle-axe).⁷ At Calais Wold 23 it was hypothesised that the dead man had held his battle-axe by the handle in his right hand.⁸ It seems likely, therefore, that the Levisham Moor finds represent normal offerings or possessions of males, not necessarily of all males, but of those with a claim to elaborate burial by reason of rank or achieved status.

Dates for burials with Collared Urns (assuming that the associated vessel was a Collared Urn) range from the 18th to the 11th centuries B.C., with several dates around 1500 B.C.⁹ Plano-convex knives and barbed-and-tanged arrowheads are found in contexts datable from the last half of the third millennium B.C. to the late second millennium B.C. There is a single sixteenth-century b.c. radiocarbon date associated with a battle-axe, and Dr. I. Smith, in a forthcoming article, believes that these implements fall into the time range 1650–1250 B.C.¹⁰ (Smith, personal communication). Obviously the lack of firm evidence leaves this point open, and the most that can be suggested is that this Levisham grave group was interred at some time between the eighteenth and eleventh centuries B.C., with a most likely date around 1500 B.C.

TABLE 1
Battle-axes and barbed-and-tanged arrowheads in Yorkshire barrows

Barrow	Grave group	Burial mode	Orientation, etc.	Other burials	Remarks
Acklam 123	b & t arrowhead plain vase 4 jet buttons	inhumation	male, left side, NNE	o	b & t arrowhead and vase in grave 2ft above inhumation and 4 jet buttons
Aldro 177	b & t arrowhead flint knife	2 inhumations	—	—	at base of mound
Blanch 189	battle-axe IIIA? (lost) 3 flint flakes collared urn bone pin	cremation	—	o	in irregular grave in centre

⁵ S. Pierpoint, 'Plano-convex knives'. Address to Y.A.S. meeting on the Yorkshire Bronze Age at Doncaster. For references see Ph.D. thesis, *Some Aspects of social and economic prehistory in Yorkshire, 3500–750 B.C.*, University of Sheffield 1978.

⁶ J. G. D. Clark, 'The Date of the plano-convex Flint Knife in England and Wales', *Ant. J.* 12 (1932), pp. 158–162.

⁷ W. Greenwell, *British Barrows* (1877), p. 298.

⁸ J. R. Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire* (1905), p. 154.

⁹ G. Lewis, 'Some radiocarbon dates for the Peak District', *Derbyshire Archaeol. J.* 86 (1966), pp. 115–117; C. Burgess, 'The bronze age' in C. Renfrew (ed.), *British Prehistory* (1974), pp. 165–232.

¹⁰ I. Smith, 'The chronology of British stone implements' in W. Cummins and T. Clough (ed.) *Proceedings of 1977 C.B.A. Symposium on Ground Stone Implements*, Nottingham.

TABLE 1—*continued*

<i>Barrow</i>	<i>Grave group</i>	<i>Burial mode</i>	<i>Orientation, etc.</i>	<i>Other burials</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Brown Rigg Moor	perforated axe (burnt)	cremation	adult? —	—	found by Atkinson in an unidentified barrow
Callis Wold 23	battle-axe IIIA food vessel	inhumation	male, back, S	0	Yorkshire vase with 4 unperforated lugs found with this burial in central grave. Battle-axe near left shoulder, the haft probably in right hand. Under the barrow double post ring.
Cowlam LVIII	battle-axe IIIA 2 scrapers flint flake jet lumps	inhumation	male, left, SE	5	In disturbed primary burial, grave partly wood-lined
Ganton XVIII	battle-axe IIA	cremation	—	0	burnt with body in central grave
Ganton XXI	b & t arrowhead	inhumation	male, right, NW	12	with one of two burials in the central grave; the other burial contained a food vessel. Also in barrow another food vessel and a beaker
Garton Slack 37	battle-axe IA Southern I beaker Beaker dagger jet button	inhumation	male, back, NE	14	in large grave, which also contained 2 food vessels
Goodmanham LXXXIX	battle-axe IVD bone pin	cremation	young adult	13	Both bone pin and battle-axe were burnt. Secondary insertions of collared urns, jet objects and two 'incense cups'
Guisborough (R)	b & t arrowhead leaf arrowhead	—	—	—	Flint flake also found
Hanging Grimston 90	battle-axe IIIB	cremation	adult	0	In wooden coffin
Hanging Grimston 99	b & t arrowhead flint	inhumation	adult, back	2	Arrowhead and flint found under the head. Nearby but probably not associated was a Yorkshire vase
Helperth XLI	b & t arrowhead	inhumation	adult, right, S	2	This burial lay above a male skeleton with a flint knife
Huggate & Warter 242	battle-axe V (ribbed Southern)	—	—	—	Opened by Silburn. Battle-axe possibly with male in central grave.
Hutton Buscel CLVII	b & t arrowhead, 3 flints (all burnt)	cremation	adult	5	Under 3 flat stones just below surface of the barrow was a crushed Primary series collared urn.
Irton Moor I	2 b & t arrow-heads wooden coffin	cremation	male	—	Both arrowheads burnt with cremation
Lingmoor, Hutton-le-Hole	battle-axe 2 urns b & t arrowhead flint knife	cremation	—	2	In Pit B, one of 3 pits (see Hayes, Y.A.J. 50, above)
Loose Howe	battle-axe VD Primary series collared urn Accessory cup Class II dagger Bronze trilobate pin Flint flake	cremation	—	1	Secondary to oak coffin

TABLE I—*continued*

<i>Barrow</i>	<i>Grave Group</i>	<i>Burial mode</i>	<i>Orientation, etc.</i>	<i>Other burials</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Newton Mulgrave	bronze dagger b & t arrowheads?	—	—	—	—
4 miles NE of Pickering (R)	leaf arrowhead b & t arrowhead circular flint	inhumation	—	0	In a cist at the centre of the barrow
4 miles NE of Pickering (R)	food vessel? b & t arrowhead? flint flake	inhumation	—	—	All in central cist
11 miles E of Pickering (R)	food vessel? battle-axe IIID Southern decorated beaker	—	—	—	Secondary according to Ruddock. Also in barrow, 3 cremations, and an inhumation in a central grave with 3-riveted dagger and flint, stone and bone tools
2 miles N of Pickering (R)	battle-axe IVD (S)	—	—	—	No details of circumstances of find
W. Pickering (R)	2 b & t arrow- heads	cremation	—	—	—
Rudston LXIII	bt& arrowhead Yorkshire vase (1a); part of fossil ammonite	inhumation	male, right, W	12	Complex mound with trench. This burial was above the central grave
Rudston LXVIII	battle-axe IIC b&t arrowhead bronze knife	inhumation	male, left, NE	6	Knife much decayed, but was c. 9 cm long with single rivet and flat top. In associated grave were 3 riveted daggers and jet
Scamridge (R)	battle-axe bronze dagger decorated stone	—	—	—	No details of circumstances— association not definite
Skelton Moor	battle-axe? collared urn	cremation	adult	at least 12	9ft S. of centre but above old ground surface
Slingsby CXLV	b&t arrowhead (burnt) bone pin with perforated head? (burnt) bone fibula (burnt) scraper (unburnt)	cremation	—	0	In a primary series collared urn set upright on old ground surface
Thwing LX	3 b&t arrow- heads	disturbed (? inhumation)	—	3	Probably associated with a Beaker inhumation in central grave disturbed by later burial containing several pieces of jet
Towthorpe 39	mace-head bronze riveted dagger plano-convex knife	extended inhumation	male, back, NW	0	In central grave
Towthorpe 276	battle-axe IIB	cremation	adult	6	Disturbed central grave contained both cremation and inhumation

Key

Sites with Roman numbers—Greenwell excavations

Sites with Arabic numbers—Mortimer excavations

Sites marked (R)—Ruddock excavations

Battle-axe types per Roe (1966)

Beaker types per Clarke (1968)

TABLE 2

Burials with true plano-convex knives and urns in North Yorkshire

<i>Barrow</i>	<i>Grave group</i>	<i>Burial mode</i>	<i>Orientation, etc.</i>	<i>Other burials</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Aldro 97	collared urn with finger-nail decoration p-c knife	cremation	—	—	Cremation under inverted urn
Hanging Grimston 56	primary series collared urn double pointed p-c knife	series of cremations and unburnt bones	—	inhumations (1 adult? 1 child)	p-c knife under collared urn
Huggate 216	tripartite collared urn globular jet bead p-c knife	cremation	—	—	—
Hutton Buscel CLVII	2 urns p-c knife (burnt)	cremation	—	—	Young adult cremation in large urn with second urn as cover
Painsthorpe 118	collared urn p-c knife? (fgt.)	cremation	juvenile	—	p-c knife under inverted urn
Slingsby CXXXVIII	collared urn p-c knife	cremation	female?	—	—
Weaponess, Scarborough	collared urn p-c knife mace-head	cremation	—	—	—
Wykeham CLII	bronze mid-rib dagger (fgt.) Largest p-c knife in Yorks.	cremation	—	—	—

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to express our thanks to the British Museum (Department of Prehistoric and Romano-British Antiquities) for permission to publish this grave-group, and to the editor of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* for advance information about Mr. R. H. Hayes's Lingmoor grave-group.

AN IRON AGE ENCLOSURE ON GREAT AYTON MOOR, NORTH YORKSHIRE

BY B. N. TINKLER AND D. A. SPRATT

Summary A stone-paved oval hut was excavated within an enclosure on Great Ayton Moor (NZ 598114) and a section was cut through the bank and internal ditch of the enclosure. The enclosure, of which the main purpose appears to have been pastoral, was dated by pottery to 100–300 B.C. or earlier. Pottery also indicated occupation in the hut into the later Iron Age. Pollen analysis from the old soil beneath the bank showed that the predominant environment at the time of construction was open grassland. It also showed some contemporary cereal pollen and indicated that there may have been cereal culture previously. The subsequent development of a field system attached to the enclosure indicates agriculture after its construction. The economy was therefore not dissimilar from other mixed farms established in the area in the late Iron Age.

I INTRODUCTION

The enclosure on Great Ayton Moor, at NZ 598114, although one of the most conspicuous prehistoric earthworks on the North York Moors, and recorded on the early O.S. maps, received little attention from earlier generations of archaeologists and antiquarians. It was unmentioned, for example, by Dr. F. Elgee in his comprehensive *Early Man in North-East Yorkshire* (1930). In the early 1960s, however, the area became the focus of archaeological and palaeobotanical researches from the Neolithic period to the Iron Age, most of which have been recorded by Mr. R. H. Hayes.¹ As part of this effort some exploratory excavations of the enclosure were undertaken to ascertain its nature and date. These, together with later survey work, are recorded in the present paper.

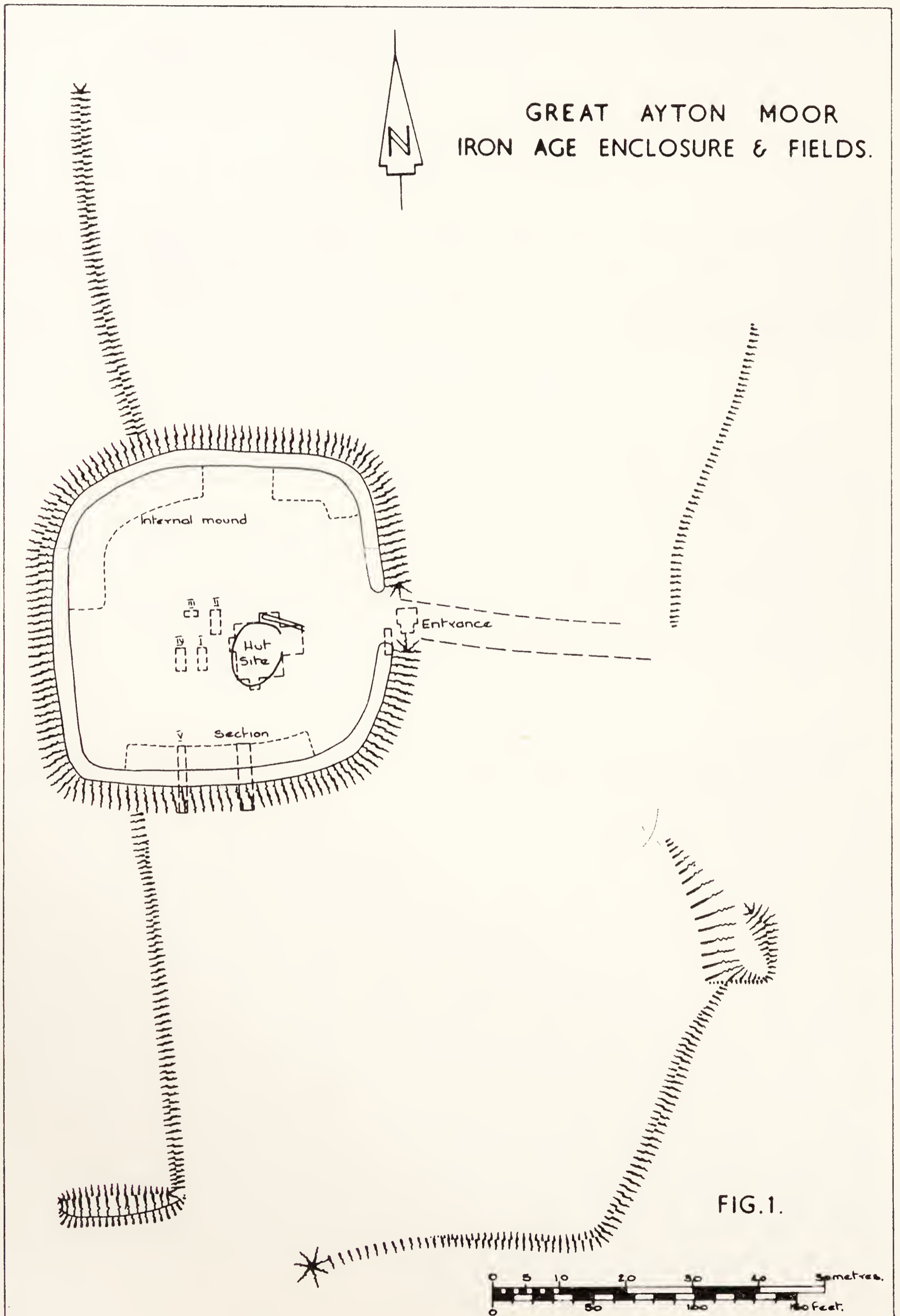
II DESCRIPTION

The site lies at the eastern end of the plateau comprising Great Ayton Moor, at a height of 377 m, and overlooks Lonsdale Valley. The other prehistoric sites on the moor have been clearly described by Mr. Hayes, but the field banks connected with this enclosure are unrecorded, and are shown on Fig. 1. In addition a system of Celtic fields with cairns has been recently discovered 700 m north-west of the enclosure.² The bedrock of the moor is sandstone of the Lower Oolite, which now carries a thin peaty soil sustaining coarse grass, heather and, particularly in the vicinity of the enclosure, wide areas of bracken.

The enclosure itself consists of a stony earthen bank, about 0.6 metres above the ground surface and 3.5 metres wide and approximately square in plan, 58 metres due east–west and 60 metres due north–south. Within the bank is a ditch 0.5 metres below ground surface and 3 metres wide, and within this again in places a smaller bank 0.3 metres above the surface and 3 metres wide. An entrance approximately half way along the eastern side 5 metres wide interrupts both the banks and the ditch. While the north–west and south–east corners of the enclosure are very rounded, the north–east and south–west corners are much more angular, and this may suggest the sequence of construction. One oval hut has been found within the enclosure; observations both from the ground and air have so far indicated no other prehistoric features within the area. Field banks lead away from the enclosure on the north and south sides, the latter being related to a field system which surrounds the enclosure on the south and east. A faint trackway leads from the entrance of the enclosure through the

¹ R. H. Hayes, 'The chambered cairn and adjacent monuments on Great Ayton Moor, North East Yorkshire', *Scarborough and District Archaeol. Soc. Research Report* 7 (1967).

² F. A. Aberg, personal communication.



fields attached to the pastoral enclosure. Similar layouts are not common in northern England, but the fields and trackway associated with the most easterly enclosure at Aughertree Fell in the Penrith area of Cumbria are disposed similarly and may date from the Romano-British period.³

III THE EXCAVATIONS

An excavation of the entrance had been conducted by W. Ross in 1953. It proved to be some 5 metres wide with large boulders placed on either side, possibly the remains of a gate, but the excavator's notes make no mention of post holes and contain no suggestion of any defensive element. This excavator also dug trenches, those recorded being marked I to V on Fig. 1. These trenches revealed no structures, but Trench I yielded an everted pottery rim (Rim 1 in the finds list). Trench V was a narrow section across the ditch and bank, similar to that described below.

The present paper records a section of the ditch and bank, and the excavation of a hut in the south-east sector.

1. *Section of the ditch and bank*

The position of the section on the south side of the enclosure is shown in Fig. 1, and the section itself in Fig. 3, on which numerals represent identifiable layers. Layer 11 represents the prehistoric soil, and 18 the natural yellow sandstone. Layers 5 (yellow sand), 4 (grey) and 3 (rock, clay and sand) represent layers of material thrown out as the ditch was dug. Layers 7–9 were various layers of yellow shaley upcast, containing few large stones, and possibly thrown out when the ditch was cleaned on successive occasions. Layer 10 is of burnt red sand and stones, charcoal and calcined bone, evidently relics of human activity on the old ground surface. 17 and 16 represent the final silting of the ditch, which stabilised sufficiently for a wind-blown layer of charcoal 15 to form over it. The subsequent silty layers 14, 13 and 12 contain many large stones, originating from the final collapse of the bank, which had a wall or revetment built into it, the remains of which are left on the inner face. At some places on the inner bank there were single large stones on the face of the bank adjacent to the ditch. The bank and internal ditch were clearly not defensive in purpose. The excavated ditch did not hold water after rain, and it therefore was more likely to have served for drainage rather than provision of drinking water for animals. Perhaps the most plausible explanation of the structure is simply for enclosure of stock, possibly made effective by a surmounting stone wall, of which the remnant still exists on the inside of the large bank; the complete structure would prevent stock from leaping out.

2. *The Hut*

The plan of the hut (Fig. 2) is an oval, approximately 11 metres along the long axis (NE/SW) and 8 metres on the short (NW/SE). The shape is apparently defined by a wall, which on the north side of the hut rested on a bank, the result of the occupation area having been levelled into the slight natural slope. Much stone paving remained within the hut and at the entrance on the eastern side, including a well-worn cup-and-ring stone face-upward. A central hearth was heavily burnt. There was no peripheral ditch as is customarily found with local Iron Age huts, but a drainage channel to the north probably prevented water running into the hut down the slope. The groups of post holes around the entrance undoubtedly signify the presence of a porch, perhaps rebuilt more than once. The construction of the hut is not altogether clear as only one large post hole was discovered, in the south-west quadrant. Perhaps the most likely hypothesis is of two main poles supporting the roof, one in the post hole, the other at the marked depression at the other end of the hut. This conjecture implies a ridged roof between the poles, which would facilitate provision of a smoke hole in the roof above the hearth. The alternative hypothesis, that the roof was supported on a post in the one post hole seems less likely on account of the eccentricity of

³ N. J. Highan, personal communication.

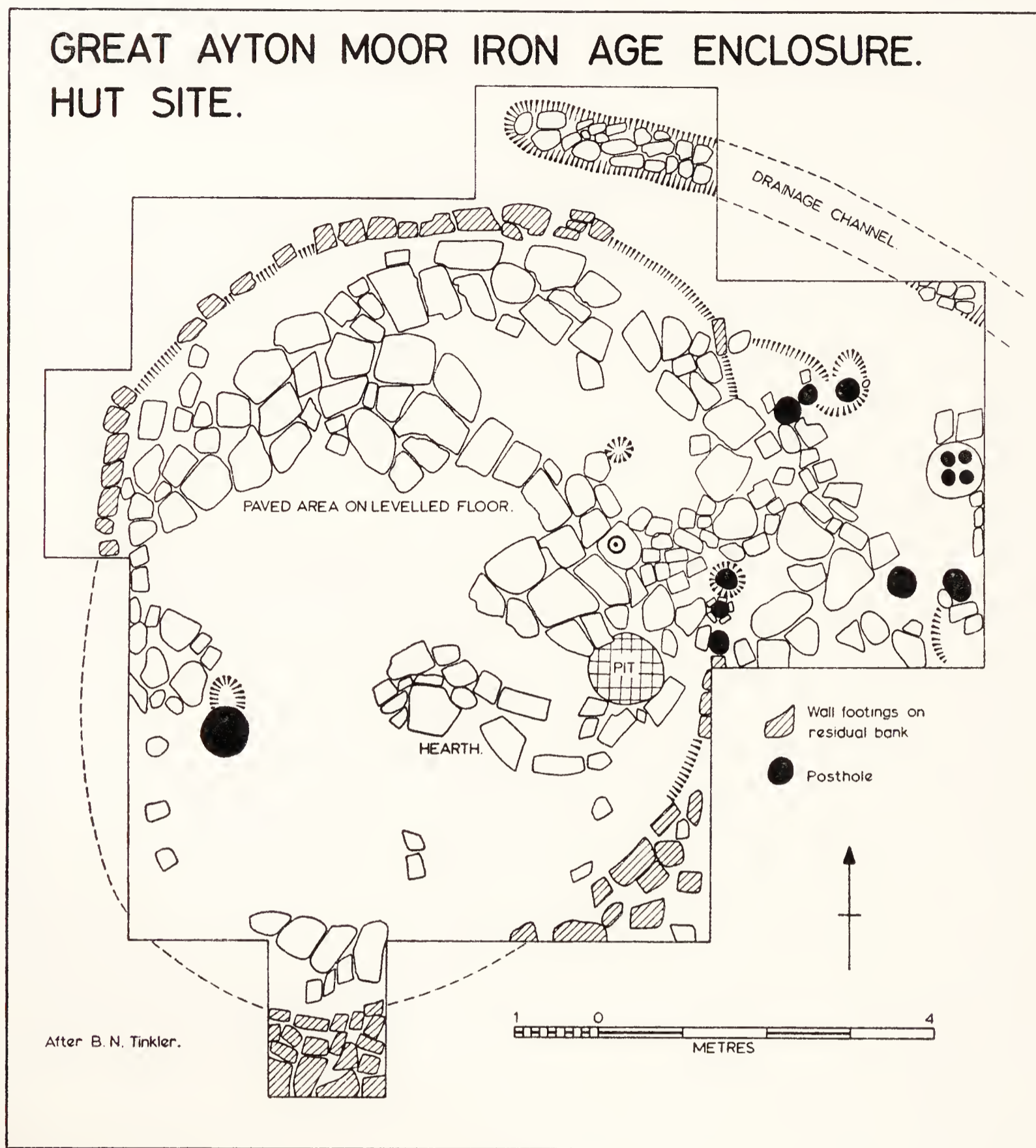


FIG. 2.

this hole in relation to the hut plan. The pit just inside the entrance was lined with clay; it might have been for grain or water storage.

Oval huts are rather uncommon in the Iron Age, but not without precedent in Northern England. One was found in an Iron Age enclosure at Horse Close at Skipton, Yorks. during Mr. F. A. Aberg's excavations in 1968⁴ and it was approximately of the same size as the Great Ayton hut and the oval hut in the first phase of Staple Howe.⁵ Oval huts from the late Bronze Age are also known in Continental Europe⁶ and in undoubtedly Gaulish Iron Age context at l'Huis l'Abbé in Burgundy.⁷ More elaborate oval huts are found in the Iron Age settlements at Jarlshof and beneath the broch of Clickhimin.⁸

⁴ F. A. Aberg, personal communication.

⁵ T. C. M. Brewster, *The Excavation of Staple Howe* (1963).

⁶ D. W. Harding, *The Iron Age in Lowland Britain* (1974), p. 50.

⁷ L. Olivier, 'Les Fouilles de l'Huis l'Abbé', *Memoires de la Société Eduenne* (Congrès des Sociétés Savantes de de Bourgogne 1969. Published 1971).

⁸ J. R. C. Hamilton, *Excavations at Jarlshof, Shetland* (1956) and *Excavations at Clickhimin, Shetland* (1968).

IV THE FINDS

A. Pottery

All the pottery was found on the floor of the hut except where stated otherwise. The designations C. and H. with numerals refer to the drawings by Challis and Harding.⁹

Rim 1 (C. and H. 8) Diameter 20 cm, thickness 1 cm. Everted rim, finger marks on rim exterior. Coarse fabric, black exterior, red and black interior. From Ross's excavation within the enclosure. Middle la Tène period (300–100 B.C.), possibly later but unlikely.

Rim 2 (C. and H. 10). Diameter 12–15 cm, thickness 0.5 cm. Small, slightly everted rim. Coarse grit. Dark brown surfaces.

Rim 3 (C. and H. 11). Diameter 10 cm, thickness 0.5–0.7 cm. Small upright rim. Coarse grit. Light brown exterior and interior.

Rim 4 (C. and H. 12). Diameter 15–20 cm, thickness 0.8 cm at wall and 0.5 cm at rim. Small beaded rim. Coarse grit. Brown surfaces, dark on exterior. Middle/Late la Tène period.

Rim 5 (C. and H. 13). 8 rim sherds. Diameter 20 cm, thickness 1.0 cm, upright rim inclined inward, perhaps top of barrel-shaped vessel. Coarse gritted well fired fabric, dark brown surfaces. Could be any prehistoric period from Late Bronze Age onward.

Rim 6 Diameter? Thickness 1 cm. Coarse, badly worn rim fragment with thick everted rim. Coarse grit. Brown–orange interior, black exterior. Middle/Late la Tène period.

Base 1 (C. and H. 9). Diameter at base 10 cm, thickness at base 1.1 cm, at wall 0.8–1.0 cm. Bucket shaped pot with pronounced kick-out at base, and finger moulding. Laminar fabric. Light brown–orange exterior, black interior and body. Found in the bottom of the ditch. Middle la Tène period or earlier.

Base 2 Diameter 12 cm, thickness 1.0 cm base, 0.7 wall. Slight kick-out at base. Brown fabric, pitted surface, probably grass-tempered.

Base 3 Diameter 12 cm, thickness 1.3 cm, base 1.0 cm wall. Wall splayed out from base, perhaps fragment of bowl. Black interior, buff exterior.

Base 4 2 small base fragments, with kick-out at base. Diameter 7.5 cm.

There were also 50 body sherds of coarse badly fired material. One sherd was, however, hard and well fired with fine crystalline grit, identical to a sherd from the nearby Percy Rigg Iron Age site.¹⁰

There are four quite distinct types of fabric, namely coarse gritted, grass tempered, laminar fabric and pottery with fine crystalline grit, and this may hint at a long period of occupation. It has been shown that some of the coarse grit originates from the Cleveland Dyke which crops out at Lounsedale, a few hundred yards distant, and this indicates firing on the site.¹¹

B. Other Finds

1. Cup-and-ring stone (35 by 45 by 15 cm) found on the floor of the hut, with carving on the upper side. An unusual stone with large ring (15 cm external diameter, 2.5 cm groove) and small concentric cup (3.0 cm diameter, 0.5 cm deep). The cup was typically pock-marked with the working tool and the stone was very worn. It probably originated in one of the many nearby round barrows, and it is not to be assumed that this motif was carved during the Iron Age. Indeed, its use as a paving stone might indicate that by this time it had lost its symbolic value.

2. Flat sandstone slab, heavily burnt with linear grooves, three of them pecked out, criss-

⁹ A. J. Challis and D. W. Harding, *Later Prehistory from the Trent to the Tyne* (B.A.R. 20, 1976), fig. 46.

¹⁰ R. S. Close, 'Excavation of Iron Age Hut Circles at Percy Rigg, Kildale', *Y.A.J.*, 44 (1972), p. 23.

¹¹ N. H. Harbord and D. A. Spratt, 'Petrological examination of Iron Age Pottery from Cleveland', *Y.A.J.*, 43 (1971), p. 174.

crossing and eroding the stone on one side, but not forming a recognisable pattern. Medium grained sandstone.

3. Square piece of dense fine-grained laminated sandstone 9 by 9 by 1.2 cm. Worn flat surface on one side, man-made but use unknown. Possibly Middle Lias Sandy Series, or Hawes Flagstone.
4. Sandstone disc, approximately circular diameter 2.3 cm.
5. Pot boilers, pebbles, miscellaneous flint.
6. A piece of cinder from iron working.

V

POLLEN ANALYSIS

A series of twelve samples, straddling the buried soil, was taken from a bank section by Professor G. W. Dimbleby for pollen analysis. The results are shown in Fig. 4, which includes all taxa showing significant representation. The four samples from 9–13 in. are rich in pollen and clearly represent the buried topsoil; it is apparent that this topsoil has been thoroughly mixed. This might be the result of repeated cultivation but in view of the poor showing of arable weeds it seems more likely that it is the result of earthworm activity.

The pollen spectrum shows a low proportion of trees and not much heather (*Calluna*), but an abundance of grasses (*Gramineae*) and ribwort plantain (*Plantago lanceolata*). The immediate surroundings were open at this time and it seems likely that the land was being used for pasture. The plantain is particularly suggestive of this and the consistent occurrence of devil's bit scabious (*Succisa*) confirms it. On the other hand, pollen of a number of arable weeds (*Chenopodiaceae*, *Plantago major*, *Rumex*) and a trace of cereal pollen are also present, but more in the overlying bank than in the buried soil itself. This might imply cultivation on adjacent ground, perhaps at an earlier date. Interpretation of weed pollens is still somewhat speculative, but it is clear that the land was under intensive farming; the absence bracken (*Pteridium*) spores and low values of heather pollen suggest that the land was in active use at the time the bank was constructed and was not tumbling down to scrub or heathland.

VI

DISCUSSION

Earthworks with internal ditch and bank are not uncommon in Northern England. The Great Ayton enclosure resembles in plan Studfold Ring near Sproxton (SE 581799) but the bank and ditch of the latter are very large in comparison and its date is unknown. The geometry of the enclosure is strikingly similar to that of the Iron Age enclosure at West Brandon, Durham, but here the ditch was probably outside the bank.¹² The bucket-shaped base found in the ditch at Great Ayton dates the enclosure itself to 300–100 B.C. or even earlier, and sherds from the hut, though not very distinctive to a particular period, are not inconsistent with occupation into the last phase of the Iron Age (100 B.C.–70 A.D.).

There is some evidence that the enclosure was essentially pastoral in its original purpose. When it was being built, grassland with pastoral weeds was the principal vegetation in the area, and the deep internal ditch may suggest enclosure for animals such as horses, sheep or cattle. Although pollen analysis shows that arable farming may have been a minor activity when the enclosure was being built, there are indications from the palaeobotanical work that cereal cultivation may have occurred in the vicinity previously. Moreover the development of the field system subsequent to the enclosure indicates later arable farming. This evidence of continuous arable activity in the Iron Age is corroborated by the work of Dr. R. L. Jones¹³ whose pollen analyses from several peat bogs in the Cleveland area demonstrate the continuous presence of cereals and arable weeds throughout the period. On the other hand

¹² G. Jobey, 'An Iron Age Homestead at West Brandon, Durham', *Arch. Ael.*, 40 (1962), pp. 1–34.

¹³ R. L. Jones, 'A Contribution to the Late Quaternary Ecological History of Cleveland, North East Yorkshire unpublished PH.D. thesis, Durham 1971.

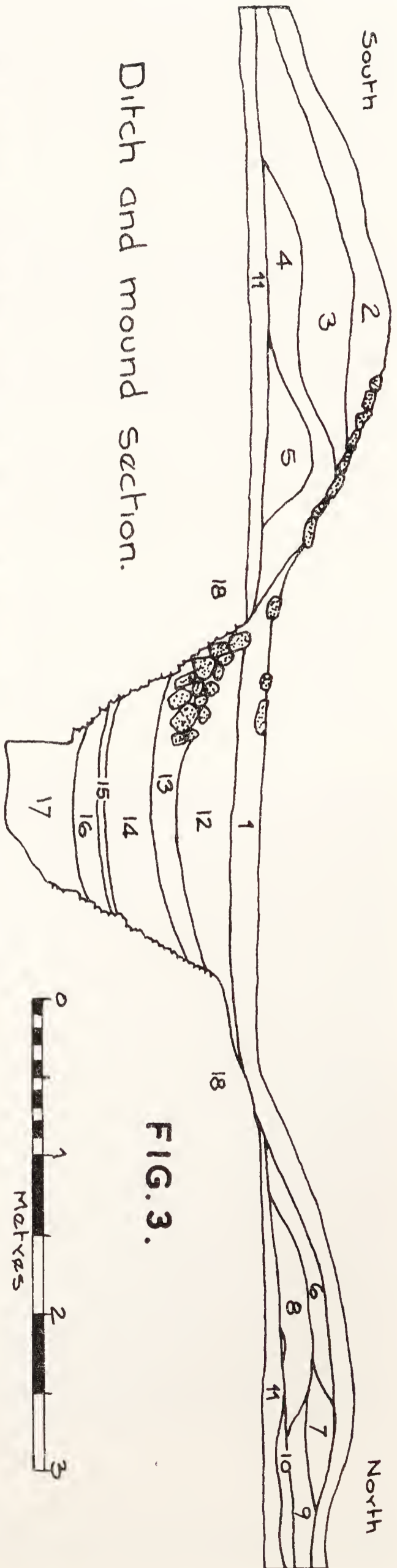


FIG. 3.

GREAT AYTON ENCLOSURE.

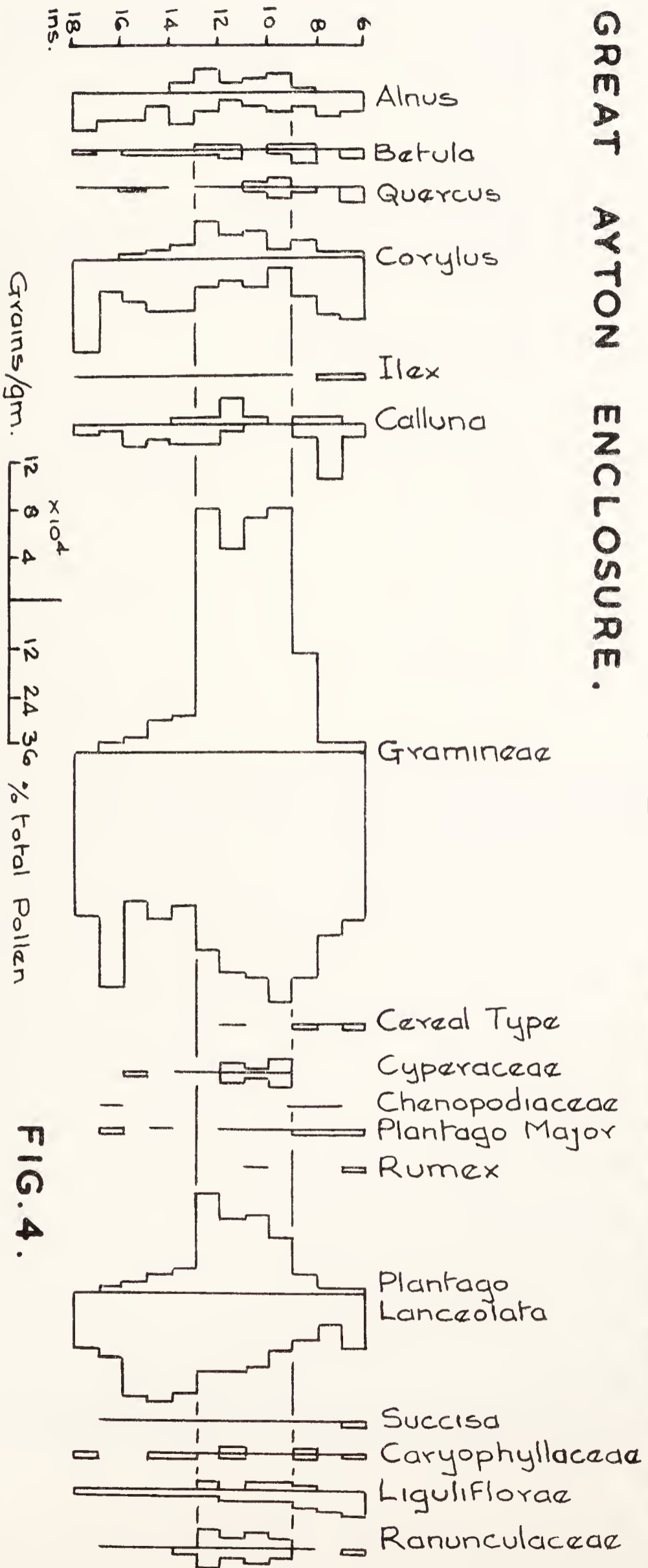


FIG. 4.

none of the excavations on the site revealed whetstones or querns which are abundantly present on other Iron Age mixed farms in this area. The excavation of this site was, however, not complete, and further excavation might yield such finds. Thus although pastoralism seems to have been the main function of the enclosure, there is good evidence of mixed farming not dissimilar to that of other settled farms which were established in this area in the late Iron Age.¹⁴

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to Mr. C. B. Fry of Great Ayton for permission to excavate, Mr. R. H. Hayes for guidance during the excavation, Professor G. W. Dimbleby for pollen analyses and comments, Dr. D. W. Harding for discussion on the pottery, and the pupils of Ayresome Boys School, Middlesbrough and members of Cleveland Naturalists Field Club for their help. We are also indebted to Drs. Challis and Harding for use of their drawings (Figs. 2 and 3), from the original surveys by Mr. David Griffiths, and to Mr. Roger Inman for subsequent survey work and preparation of diagrams.

The finds have been deposited in the Dorman Memorial Museum, Middlesbrough.

The Council of the Society wishes to thank the North York Moors National Park Committee for a grant towards the cost of publishing this paper.

¹⁴ R. S. Close, R. H. Hayes and D. A. Spratt, 'Romano-British Settlements at Crag Bank and Lounsedale, Kildale, North Riding', *Y.A.J.*, 47 (1975), pp. 61-68.

EXCAVATIONS AT LINGS FARM, DUNSVILLE, HATFIELD

By J. R. MAGILTON

Summary An enclosure, droveway and field ditches visible on aerial photographs were excavated in 1974. Only a hearth and a few Roman potsherds were found. Similar sites in the area have produced Roman and Iron Age material.

The area east of Doncaster has always been something of a blank in terms of archaeological information and, despite the evidence for extensive forest clearance during the Iron Age and Roman periods obtained by pollen analysis from both Thorne¹ and Hatfield Moors,² there have been few finds of artefacts. When fragments of an extensive system of small rectangular fields and associated enclosures, lying oblique to the modern road south-east of Dunsville, were noted during aerial reconnaissance in June 1974, it was decided that some excavation would be necessary before gravel quarrying and motorway construction destroyed much of the evidence.

The site selected for excavation lies south-west of Lings Farm at SE 652078 near the Dunsville to Hatfield Woodhouse road. It is on a fairly level surface, dipping gently to the south-east, and on a much cryoturbated deposit of sand and coarse gravel, referred to the 'Older River Gravels'. Gravel working approached the site on three sides and enquiries revealed proposals to quarry part of the remainder of the field during the autumn of 1974.

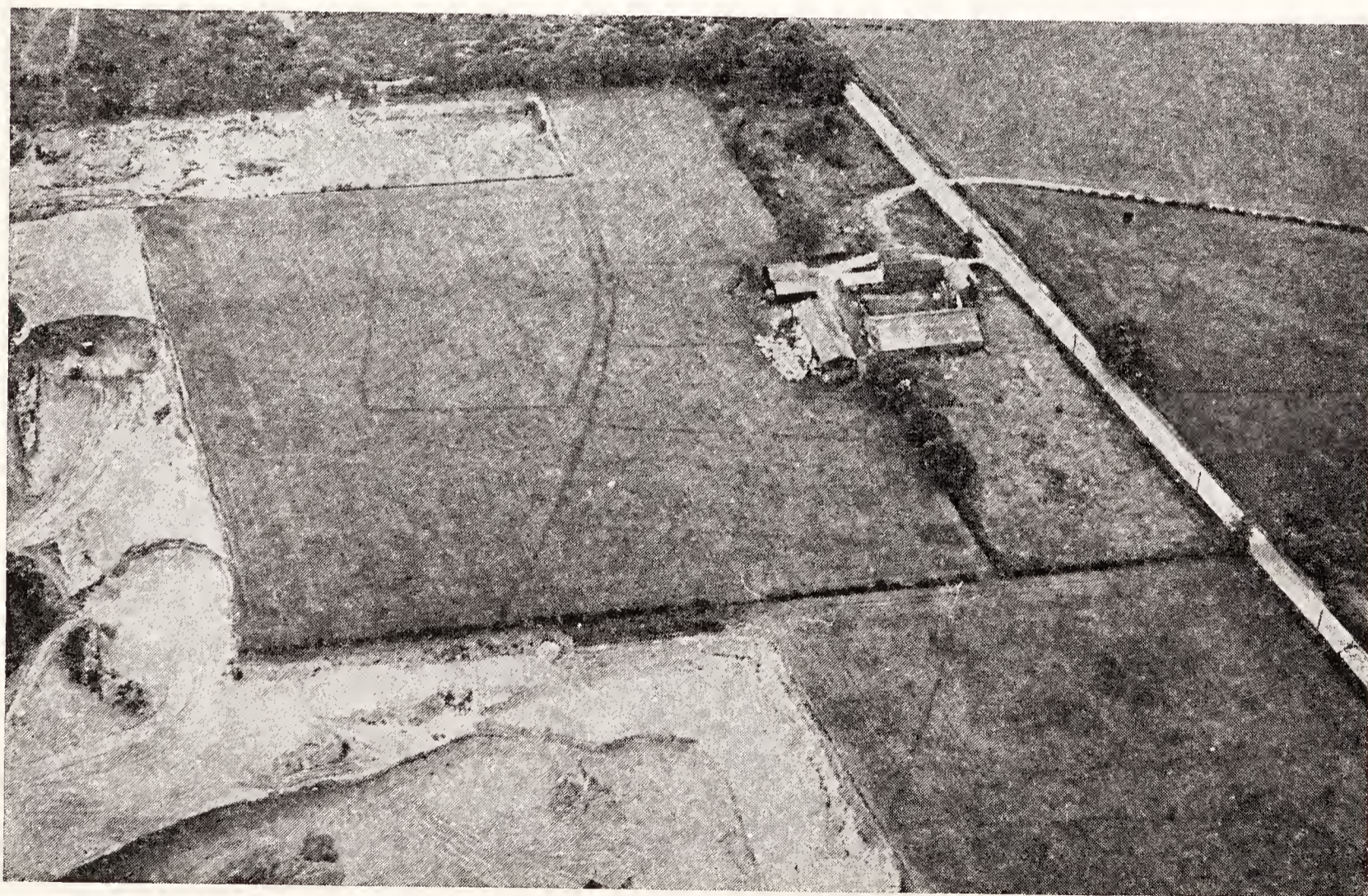


FIG. 1. Lings Farm, Dunsville. Air photograph of Site from S., 1974. Photo: Doncaster M.B.C.

¹ J. Turner, 'The Tilia Decline: an Anthropogenic Interpretation', *New Phytologist* 61 (1962), pp. 328-41.

² A. G. Smith, 'Post-Glacial Deposits in South Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire', *New Phytologist* 57 (1958), pp. 19-49.

It was therefore decided to excavate in advance of destruction; by the time work began in October about a third of the field had been stripped of topsoil prior to sand and gravel extraction.

Photographs (Fig. 1) had shown three sides of an enclosure with a stretch of droveway to the north and boundaries of an attached field system (Fig. 2). Two trial trenches, I and II, each measuring 15 m by 3 m were dug initially to locate the eastern and western limits of the apparent droveway, and a geophysical survey was carried out in an attempt to locate other features.

Two large areas, 30 m by 26 m and about 10 m by 46 m (Fig. 3, A and B), were mechanically stripped, the former to examine the south-east corner of the sub-rectangular enclosure, where aerial photography had suggested features other than ditches, and the latter to examine a large section of the droveway. In addition a number of trenches were dug to locate field boundaries in the hope of obtaining information on the date and life-span of the system.

Area A failed to reveal any features within the ditched enclosure. A small hearth was located east of the south-east corner of the enclosure in tr. V, but this was so badly damaged by deep ploughing that its extent was difficult to determine and the scattered charcoal too disturbed for reliable ^{14}C dating. Three sections through the enclosure ditch in this area, which was emptied completely, showed two or three layers of fill (Fig. 4, 2–4), the top one of which, in the westernmost section (Fig. 4, 4), apparently consisting of a mixture of topsoil and sand. No finds were recovered.

Area B was a little more productive. Two north–south baulks were left to provide cross-sections of the ditches and to provide material for soil sampling, and during the final week of excavation trenches were cut into the natural sand at both the eastern and western ends of the area to give definitive sections.

A gap was discovered in the east–west field ditch (F12) with a fill of fairly clean sand which was not an original feature of the layout, suggesting deliberate backfilling of the ditch to provide access to the adjoining field system. Further west, a crude gravel surface sealing both of the droveway ditches for a length of about 10 m was found, generally about 12 cm thick but with a maximum depth of about 20 cm where it overlay the E–W enclosure ditch. Traces of a similar layer of gravel, with some charcoal, were found further west, but here generally lay between the ditches rather than sealing them.

The western section across the droveway (Fig. 4, 1), indicated seven different fills for the field boundary ditch F3 with successive re-cuts migrating towards its centre. The earliest ditch had a filling suggestive of a fairly long period during which the ditch was allowed to silt up considerably, and this was followed by three shallow re-cuts belonging to the final phase. The two lowest fills may represent spill from an adjoining bank running along the ditch's northern edge, a feature which may have caused the migrating ditch profiles. The enclosure ditch here contained only two layers, the upper of which may be related to the gravel spread overlaying both ditches further east. The section at the eastern end of area B showed a similar sequence.

A small trench $5\frac{1}{2}$ m by 4 m was dug alongside the quarry face to examine the western extreme of the enclosure ditch F4 on its southern side. The topsoil in this area had been removed prior to quarrying, and the ditch was sealed by a thin layer of modern turf and sand. The slight curve of F4 within the trench was thought possibly to indicate the beginning of a return of the destroyed fourth ditch of the enclosure. The section F4 in the quarry face showed two layers, the upper of which graded into the modern turf-line, but there was no suggestion of an internal bank of any form.

Further trenches were dug to locate the north-east corner of the enclosure (VI) and the westernmost and easternmost of the N–S field boundaries. None of the fills gave any indication of an associated bank. A trench (VII) dug to examine the relationship between

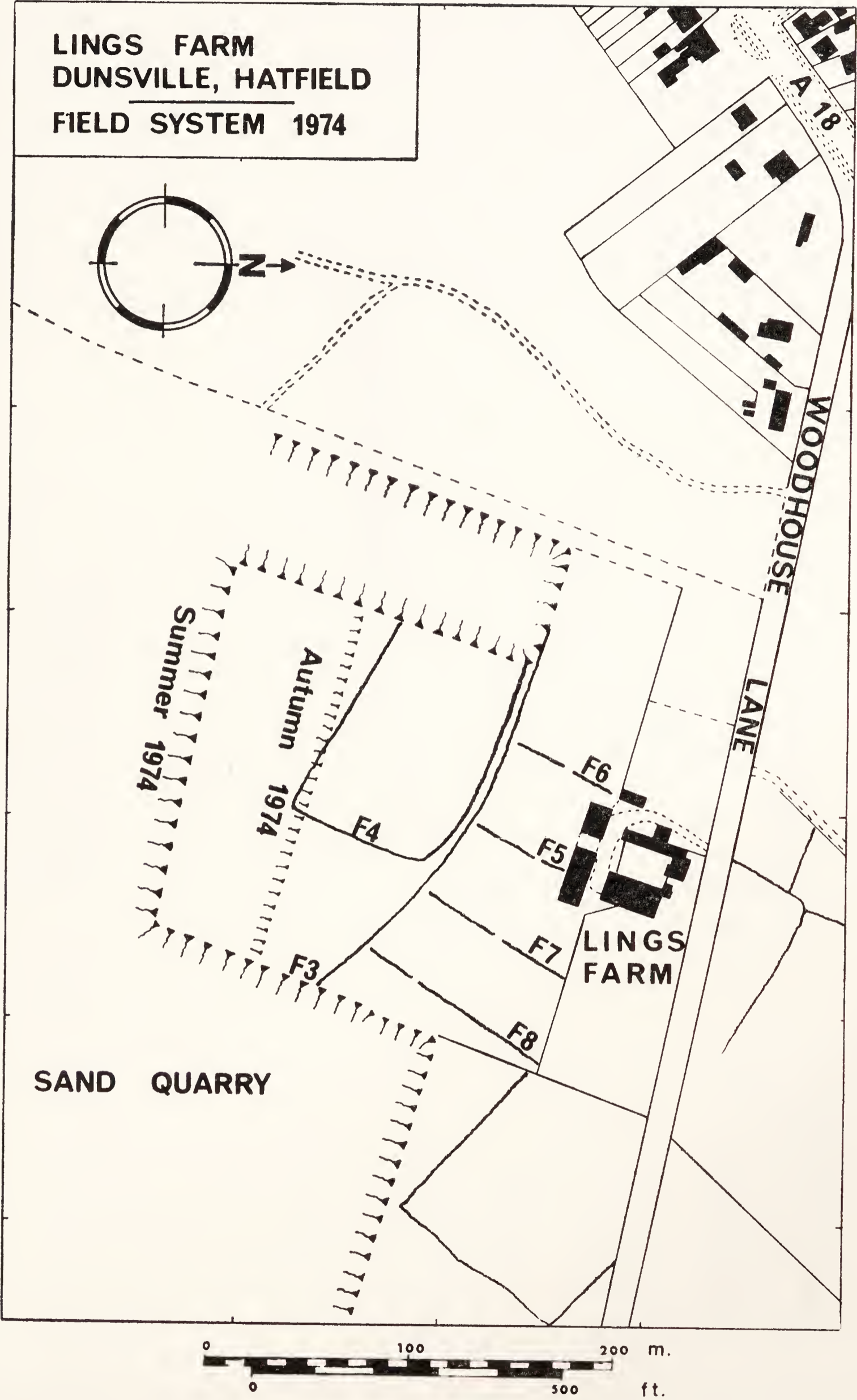


FIG. 2. Lings Farm, Dunsville. General plan of the site.

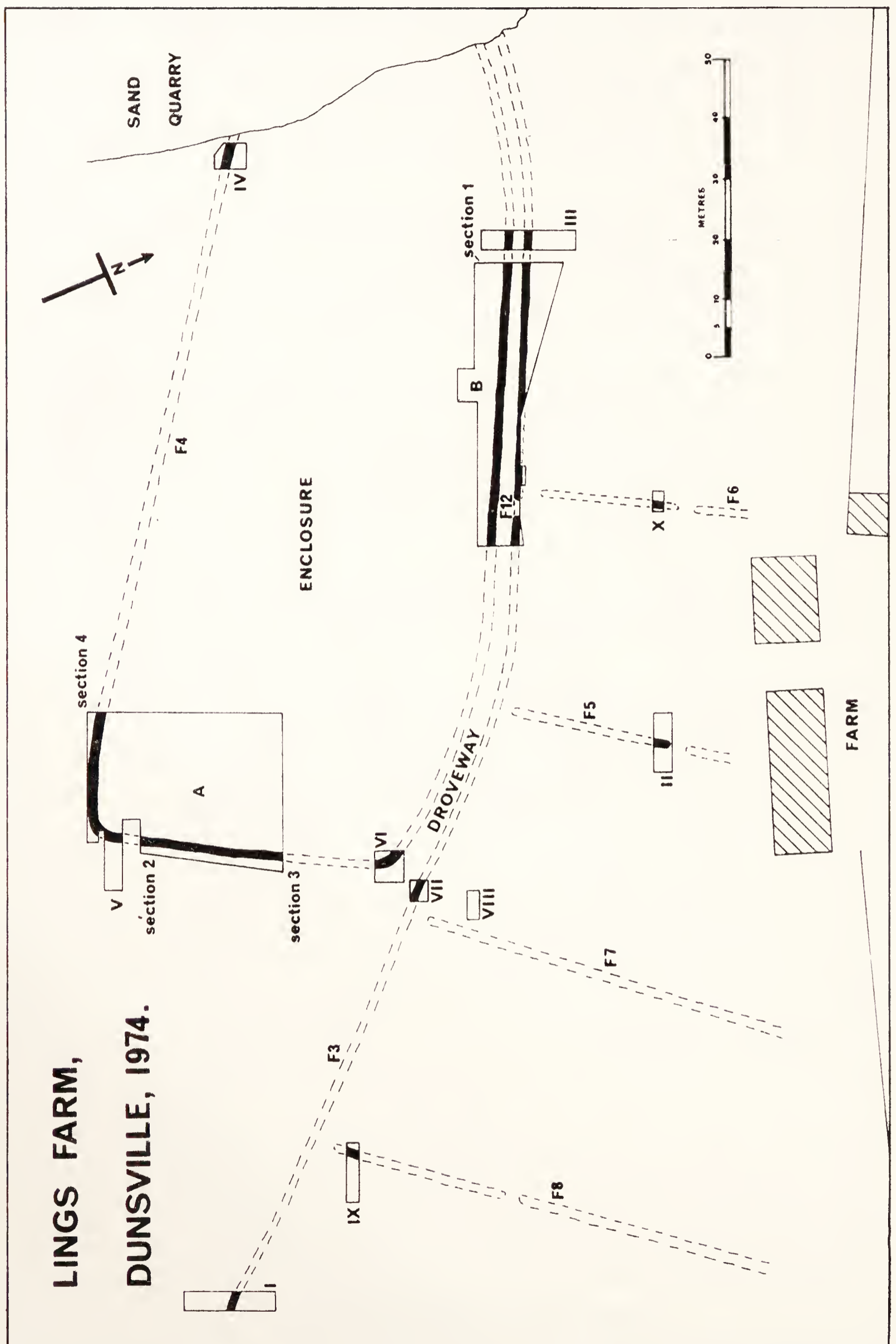


FIG. 3. Lings Farm, Dunsville. Plan of excavated areas.

the field ditch F3 and the ditch F7 failed to locate the latter, and a subsequent examination of the aerial photograph confirms that they do not meet, and that a gate must have existed at this point. Trench VIII, which was dug on the line of this ditch, north of its supposed junction with the northern driveway ditch F3, failed to locate any extension.

Trench II, dug to locate the field ditch F5 near the buildings of the modern farm, revealed another gap in the ditch system which again appeared to be a primary feature. The relationship of this ditch to F3 was not tested by excavation, but the alignment of the ditch F6 from aerial photographs suggested it was heading towards the western end of the secondary infilling F12, and that this infilling was designed to provide access to the field bounded by F5 and F6 from the driveway. Again there is a suggestion from aerial photographs that an access point existed between F5 and F3, the northern driveway ditch.

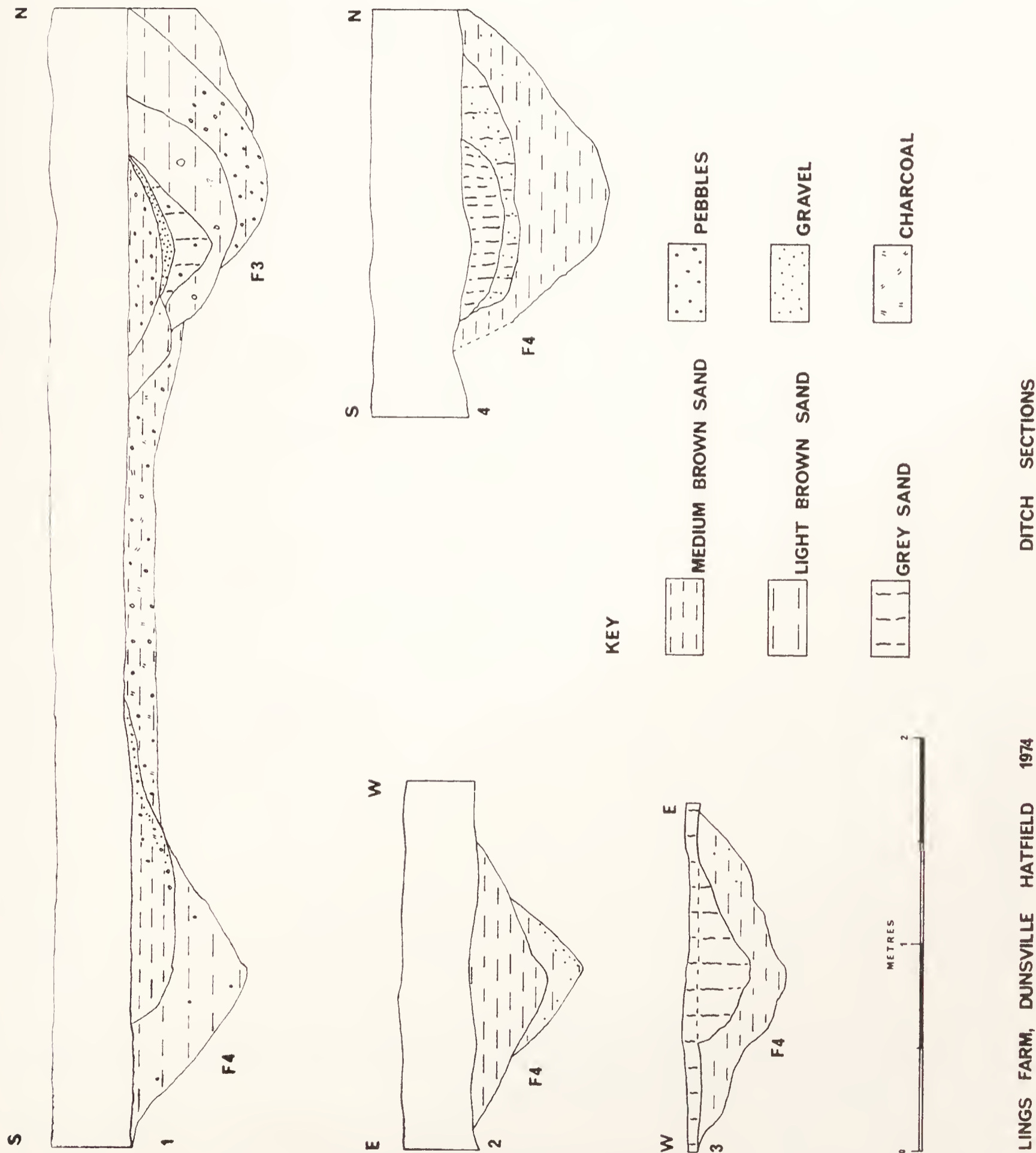


FIG. 4. Lings Farm, Dunsville. Ditch sections.

The absence of evidence for a bank alongside any of the north-south field boundaries and the very slender evidence for the enclosure ditch having had a bank is very surprising in view of the rapidity of silting in wet weather observed even during the course of excavation. It seems unreasonable to suppose that upcast from the digging of these boundary ditches was not left alongside them unless it was spread on the field and, even if a bank did not constitute the principal division between fields, there is the possibility of hedges having been employed, as at present, which would have slowed the rate of silting. In any case, it is not improbable that the ditches were re-cut frequently and that the relatively simple sequence of infilling observed in most ditch sections is due to the thoroughness of periodic cleanings rather than to a short period of use.

The only finds recovered were two joining basal sherds of a bowl in a reduced sandy fabric with a very shallow footring recovered from the top fill of F4, the enclosure ditch, in area B. They probably belong to a late Roman coarse ware imitation of a Samian form 31 bowl, similar in style to those produced in some of the Cantley, Doncaster kilns (33 and 34; unpublished material in Doncaster Museum). Field-walking prior to excavation revealed fire-cracked pebbles and cobbles, but no sherds or other artefacts. A Samian vessel base stamped MARCUS F was recovered from earlier gravel quarrying south of the site, and a solitary sherd of grey ware came from abandoned workings to the north, but no other finds are known from the immediate vicinity.³ The extreme acidity of the Drift sands and gravels is unfavourable for the preservation of bone or other environmental remains, and insufficient carbon from well-sealed contexts was recovered for ¹⁴C dating.

The Lings Farm site forms only part of an extensive area of field systems, located by aerial photography, stretching between Hatfield and Armthorpe, south of the A18 extending west towards the A638.⁴ No other site has yet been excavated, although some are currently under threat of destruction from the M18 motorway construction.⁵ Romano-British chance finds are known from several sites⁶ but it should be pointed out that systems run obliquely to known Roman roads and to the early fort at Rossington Bridge. It could be argued that the ambitious scale of this layout points to a degree of organisation unlikely in the Iron Age, but the apparent orderliness might easily be the result of an agglutinative process from several primary centres. An absence of pre-Roman artefacts is not conclusive, since the local Iron Age would appear to have been aceramic. All that the occurrence of a late Roman sherd in a ditch at Lings Farm suggests is a date by which the system was going out of use.

The limited nature of the evidence and lack of excavation on similar sites in the Vale of York and north Nottinghamshire makes any attempt to discuss the site in a more regional context of little value. On the Magnesian Limestone outcrop, similar sites have produced Roman finds during fieldwork and, on the one excavated site in Edlington Wood, 14 km to the south-west, pottery extended from the Flavian period to the early fourth century.⁷ At Scratta Wood, near Worksop, 33 km south-west, the finds range back into the late Iron Age⁸. Sandtoft, 8 km east, also yielded Roman finds, and insect faunas from a ditch surrounding a structure by the former course of the River Idle implied a mixed farming economy with both livestock and cereals.⁹ The full interpretation of Dunsville will only be possible when similar sites with well-preserved environmental material are excavated.

A resistivity survey, using University of Bradford equipment, was unsuccessful in locat-

³ J. R. Magilton, *The Doncaster District: an Archaeological Survey* (1977) p. 37.

⁴ D. N. Riley, 'Aerial Reconnaissance of the West Riding Magnesian Limestone Country', *Y.A.J.* 45 (1973), pp. 210-213; unpublished photos in Doncaster Museum.

⁵ P. C. Buckland and J. R. Magilton, unpublished report. 1974.

⁶ *Y.A.J.* 46 (1974), 143-146.

⁷ A. B. Sumpter in H. Phillips (ed.), *Edlington Wood* (Doncaster R.D.C. 1973), pp. 37-39.

⁸ G. F. White, *Scratta Wood. Iron Age Excavations 1959-1965* (Worksop Corporation 1966).

⁹ P. C. Buckland and J. Samuels, *Y.A.J.* 50 (1978), pp. 00-00.

ing archaeological features prior to excavation, almost certainly because of the cryoturbated nature of the subsoil, but some correlation could be observed between excavated ditches and areas of low resistance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The site was excavated with the aid of a grant from the Department of the Environment under the auspices of Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council. Access was freely given by both the tenant farmer, Mr. Dixon, and the quarry owners, Marshall & Sons, Ltd., who also provided assistance with the machinery. The resistivity survey was carried out by M. J. Dolby, Keeper of Antiquities at Doncaster Museum, who also drew Fig. 2, and the site was initially located and photographed by P. C. Buckland, the Museum's Field Officer.

A ROMANO-BRITISH SETTLEMENT AT SANDTOFT, SOUTH HUMBERSIDE

BY J. SAMUELS AND P. C. BUCKLAND

Summary Enclosures seen from the air near Sandtoft were excavated and shown to have been occupied in the late fourth century. Pits and possible hut sites were located; animal bones and insect remains from the site were identified. A double-ditched enclosure to the east resembles a fort. Sections were cut in a former bed of the Idle. Evidence for flooding in the late Roman period may be the result of changes in agricultural techniques.

Although the Fens of South Lincolnshire and East Anglia have been subjected to much research,¹ the topographically similar area between the rivers Trent and Ouse has received little attention. The modern village of Sandtoft in Belton parish lies between the Isle of Axholme and Doncaster, roughly in the centre of this considerable area of former fen and raised bog, known as Hatfield Chase (Fig. 1). This region has been compared with the Fens of East Anglia,² and, in a similar manner, was largely drained by the Dutch in the seventeenth century. Although palynological research on both Hatfield Moors and Thorne Moors,³ lying respectively a few kilometres north and south of Sandtoft, had suggested extensive forest clearance during the Iron Age and Roman period, there were few known archaeological sites until an integrated programme of aerial photography and field walking was begun in 1973 in advance of the construction of the M18 and M180 motorways.

Flying principally along the Magnesian Limestone and Bunter Sandstone outcrops to the west, Riley has traced widespread systems of small rectangular fields and enclosures, in part demonstrably pre-Roman,⁴ and it was possible to trace these features eastward along the sand and gravel ridges to the neighbourhood of Hatfield and Tudworth, 5 km west of the Sandtoft site. One enclosure, at Lings Farm, Hatfield, was subsequently excavated and produced a solitary sherd of late Roman pottery.⁵ Surface finds of Roman pottery were already known from immediately north of Sandtoft village,⁶ and an aerial photograph taken in 1974 (Fig. 2) enabled these finds to be related to a ditched enclosure at SE 742084 and an associated field system. Further flights suggested that similar features continued eastward towards Belton and Crowle, where Roman surface finds were also known.⁷ The dividing line between the two areas of extensive settlements lies along the former course of the rivers Idle and Don, diverted during the drainage in the seventeenth century. When field walking along the intended route of the M180 produced a particularly intense scatter of Roman pottery on the bank of the old Idle, close to its confluence with the Don at Goodcop, 1.5 km north-west of Sandtoft (at SE 733098), it was decided that excavation might provide not only structural and artefactual evidence but also a useful interrelated succession of environmental samples from the former bed of the river.

A brief geophysical survey indicated possible archaeological features in the area of principal pottery scatter and an aerial reconnaissance, the results of which were unfortunately of indifferent quality because of poor light (Fig. 3), located three probable circular huts, a

¹ C. W. Phillips (ed.), *The Fenland in Roman Times*, R.G.S. res. rep. 5, (London 1970).

² A. G. Smith, 'Post-Glacial Deposits in South Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire', *New Phytologist* 57 (1958), pp. 19-49.

³ J. Turner, 'The Tilia Decline: an anthropogenic interpretation', *New Phytologist* 61 (1962), pp. 328-341.

⁴ D. N. Riley, 'Air Reconnaissance of West and South Yorkshire in 1975', *Y.A.J.* 48 (1976), pp. 13-18.

⁵ J. R. Magilton, 'Excavations at Lings Farm, Dunsville, Hatfield', *Y.A.J.* 50 (1978), pp. —.

⁶ Unpublished material in Doncaster Museum.

⁷ Finds in Scunthorpe Museum and in private possession.



FIG. 1. Sandtoft, S. Humberside: Enclosure and field system, north of modern village, looking north, June 1973. Photo: Doncaster M.B.C.

larger rectangular structure and extensive complexes of ditches along the south bank of the former river, implying a riverside settlement of considerably greater extent than previously known from Hatfield Chase.

Excavation

As the resources available were limited, effort was concentrated on the area immediately adjacent to the river, where cropmarks had been somewhat better resolved (SE 735090); the double ditches of a large, rectangular enclosure lying east of the excavated area were examined later during motorway construction.⁸ The ploughsoil was stripped off an area 70 m by 30 m by machine and the area cleaned. Archaeological features appeared as grey to brown sand and clay-filled features cut into the natural yellowish-orange fluvial and aeolian sands of Late Glacial origin.⁹ The northern edge of the site was overlain by a spread of grey-brown alluvium, thickening northwards into the river channel and filling several ditches (Fig. 6). Total excavation of the archaeological features was impractical and, after planning, critical sections were cut to establish stratigraphic relationships and obtain dating material.

Two adjoining rectangular enclosures were identified (Fig. 4), approximately 13 m by 5.5 m and 14 m by 13 m, the latter being the most prominent feature on the aerial photograph. Sections suggested that the two were probably contemporary, although there were several recuts of the slight ditches (Fig. 5, 1 and 2) and complete excavation would have

⁸ By Mr. M. Felcey of Crowle. The authors are grateful for permission to refer to his unpublished results.

⁹ G. D. Gaunt, R. A. Jarvis and B. Matthews, 'The Late Weichselian Sequence in the Vale of York', *Proc. Yorkshire Geol. Soc.* 38 (1971), pp. 281-284; P. C. Buckland, 'The use of insect remains in the interpretation of archaeological environments', in D. A. Davidson and M. L. Shackley (eds.), *Geoarchaeology* (London 1976), pp. 369-396.

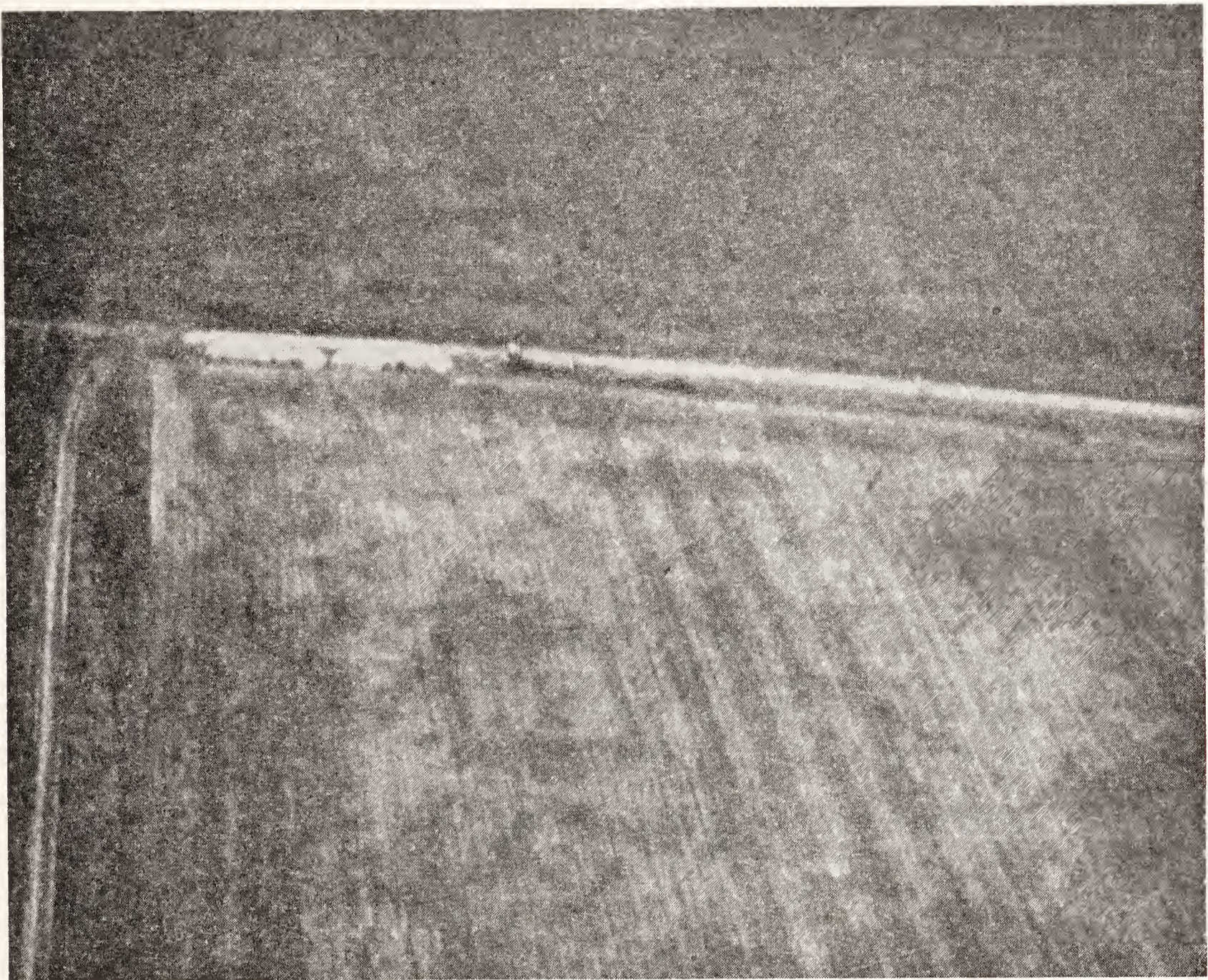


FIG. 2. Sandtoft, S. Humberside: aerial view of site looking east, before excavation. The principal rectangular enclosure excavated is apparent and, east of the lane, the double ditches of the large enclosure (? fort) are visible. Photo: Doncaster M.B.C.

been necessary to establish detailed relationships. In both sections 1 (Fig. 5) and 2, through a ditch continuing westwards, a shallow flat bottomed linear feature, 0.42 m deep, had been cut by a more V-shaped ditch, 0.75 m deep. The aerial photograph (Fig. 3) had suggested that the almost square arrangement of ditches, forming the large enclosure, represented a small building, and there was some suggestion of internal features. These, however, could not be located by excavation and, although one possible posthole was sectioned within the smaller enclosure, the area had been badly disturbed by modern deep ploughing and the internal features implied from the air may have survived only in the topsoil, a problem encountered on other sites.¹⁰ Although occasional fragments of Keuper skerry, Blue Lias and erratics collected from the Drift occurred in the topsoil, the recuts and environmental evidence negate any suggestion that these features represent robber trenches to stone footings.

The limited amount of environmental evidence from the ditches, however, suggests that structures existed within these enclosures. Two pests of stored products, *Sitophilus granarius*, the grain weevil, and *Oryzaephilus surinamensis*, the saw-toothed grain beetle were recovered from a sample of a more organic lens within the dark grey sand in the southern ditch of the square enclosure. *S. granarius* is wholly synanthropic, flightless and requires the artificial insulation provided by man's buildings to survive in this country; it is probably a

¹⁰ H. C. Bowen, 'Air photography and the development of the landscape in central parts of southern England' in D. R. Wilson (ed.), *Aerial reconnaissance for archaeology*, C.B.A. res. rep. 12 (London 1975), pp. 107-117.

Roman introduction.¹¹ Both would suggest the close proximity of a building with stored products, almost certainly grain, within it. It seems probable that any structures were on sills, lying on or close to the Roman ground surface. The floral and faunal evidence from the ditch would suggest that it was wet for much, if not all the year, although this evidence must, of necessity, relate to the final phase of occupation, when the ditches ceased to be cleaned out and wetland vegetation had been allowed to grow in them. The porous nature of the substrate, however, implies a rising water table and this interpretation finds some support in the deposits in the old river channel and the spread of alluvium into the ditches close to the river.

The ditches of the two main enclosures cut through a number of earlier features. Two (12 and 13) appear to be segments of circles and, although they were too indistinct to be traced in section, it is probable that they represent the ephemeral eaves drip channels of circular huts, other examples of which are evident on the aerial photographs (Fig. 3). No features within these putative circles could directly be associated with them. It was apparent in section 3 (Fig. 5) that the square enclosures and possible building were cut through by a further less regular enclosure (Fig. 4) with more narrow and shallow ditches, lying on a slightly more oblique alignment to the east, although it was impossible to establish relationships within the mass of other small gullies to the north of the smaller enclosure; two parallel ditches, 3.5 m apart, could not be related but the more southerly was clearly cut by the ditches of the rectangular enclosure (Fig. 4).

A total of nine pits (P1-9) were located but only four (P1, 3, 6 and 7) could be related to other features. All contained fragments of charcoal and some a distinct black layer. Apart from P2 and P4, the pits were sub-rectangular, c. 2 m by 0.5 m and orientated east-west. It seems possible that these represent ovens or perhaps corn-driers, although any stone superstructure has long since disappeared from the site in this area of little building stone. P2 and

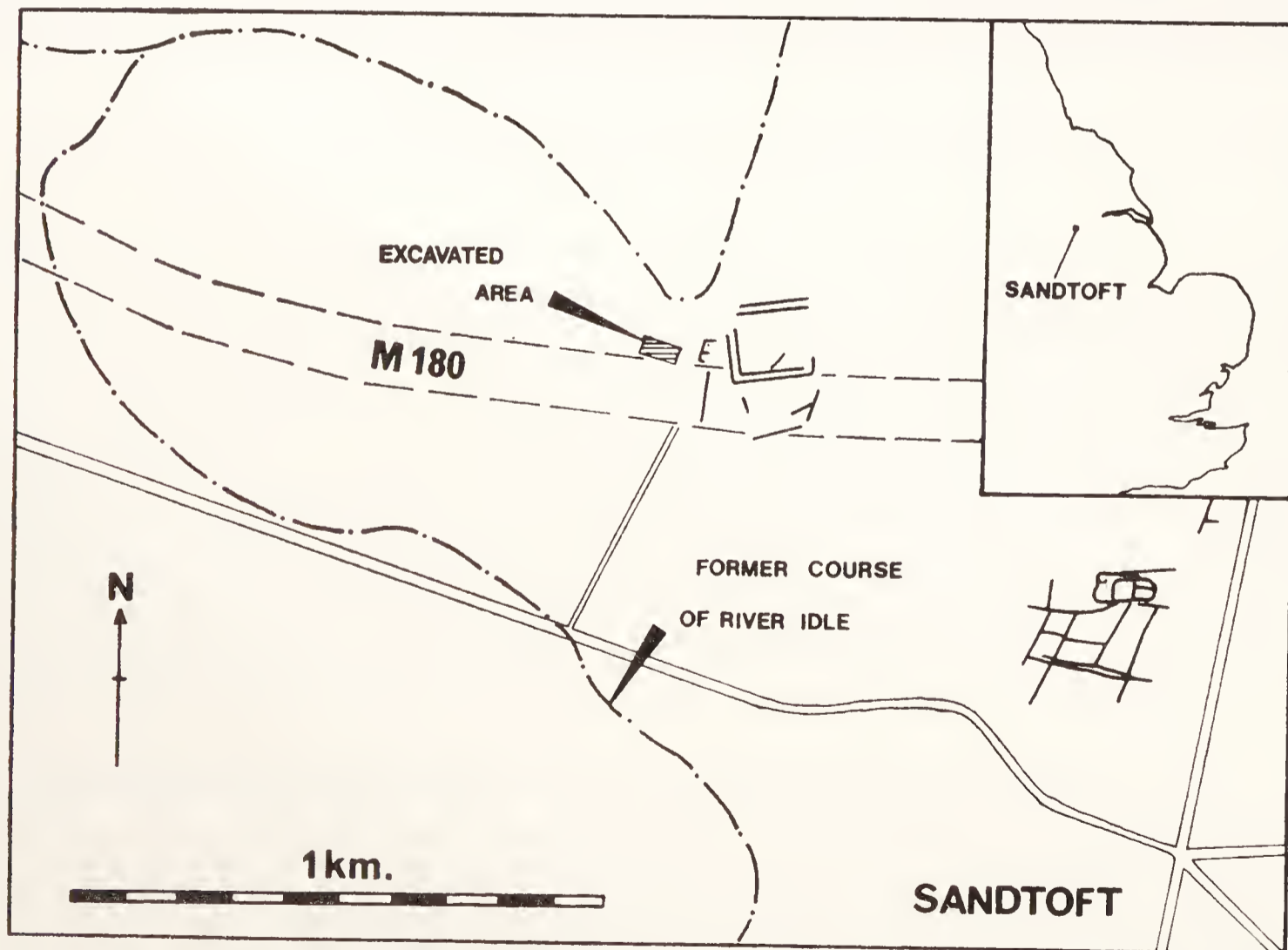


FIG. 3. Sandtoft, S. Humberside: location of sites. (Features recorded from the air have been sketched on.)

¹¹ P. C. Buckland, 'Cereal production, storage and population: a caveat' in J. G. Evans, S. Limbrey and H. Cleere (eds.), *The Effect of Man on the Landscape: the Lowland Zone*, C.B.A. res. rep. 23 (London 1978), pp. —.

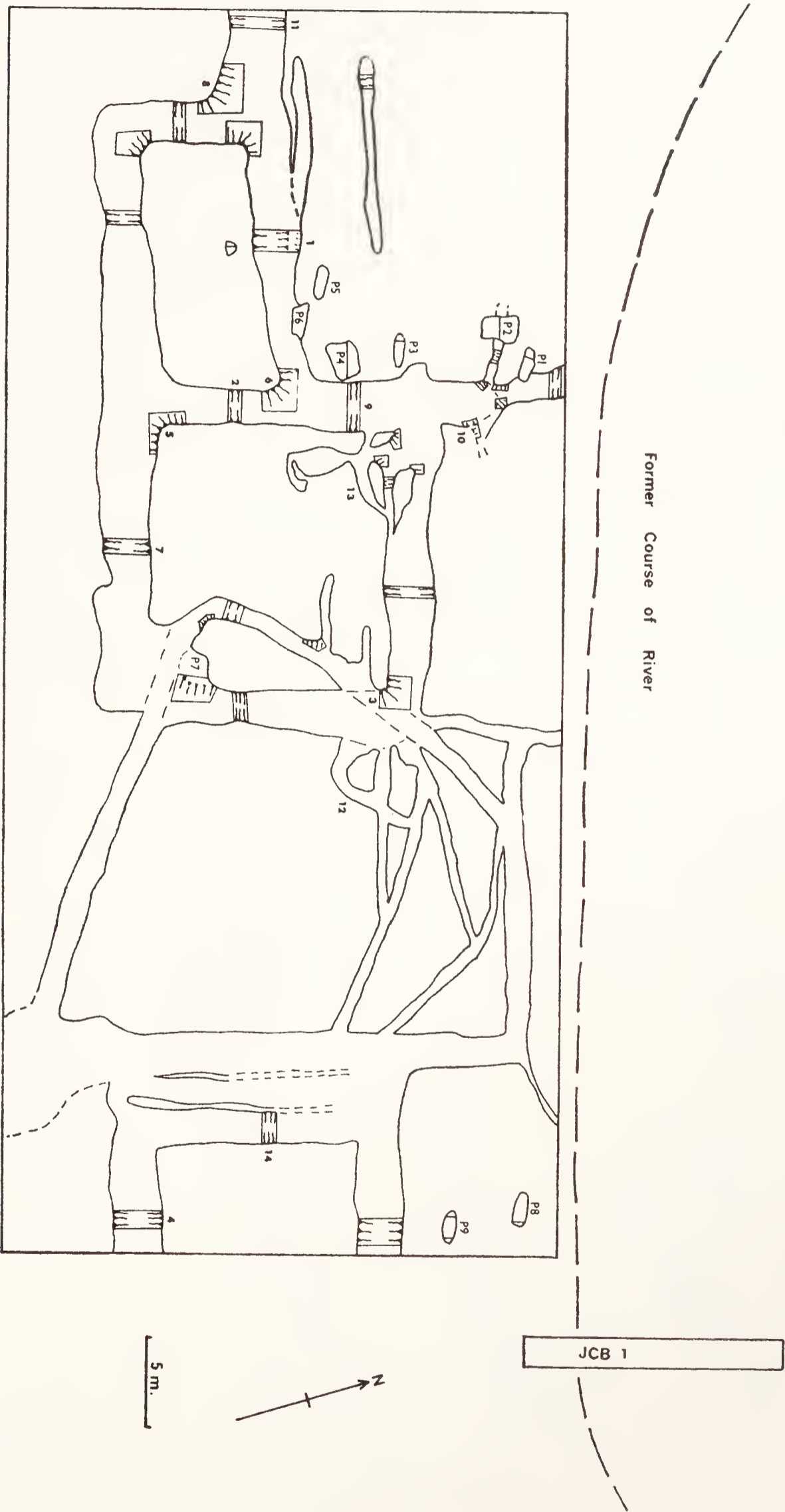


FIG. 4. Sandtoft: site plan (only features and sections referred to in the text are numbered).



FIG. 5. Sandtoft: sections (for locations, see Fig. 4).

P4 contained considerable quantities of burnt clay and fire-cracked stones and may be hearth pits, although there was again no trace of associated structures. Pottery from these two pits was more numerous than from the others and was similar to that from the ditches of the rectangular enclosures. Two coins were also obtained from these; badly corroded, they would appear to be small bronzes of the fourth century.

Three sides of another large, ditched enclosure equally rectilinear were defined on the east side of the excavated area (Figs. 4 and 5,4), on the same alignment as the other main enclosure.

The River Channel

A considerable amount of environmental research has been carried out on Hatfield Chase,¹² but there has been little direct relation to the artifactual evidence. Two sections were therefore cut northwards from the excavated area into the former bed of the Idle, locally called the Old Don. About a metre of grey-brown alluvium was found to overlay at

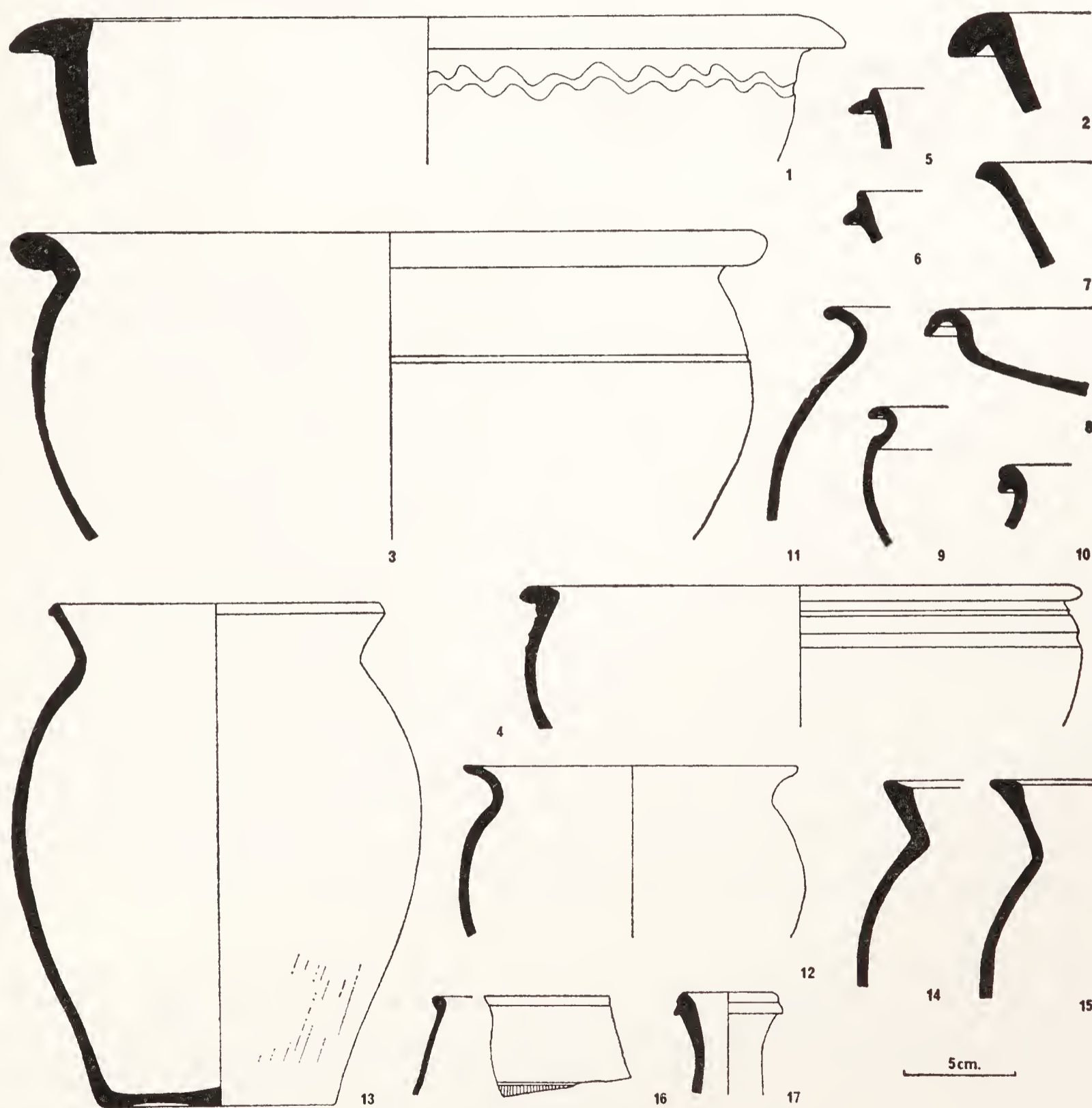


FIG. 6. Sandtoft: the pottery.

¹² Smith, *op. cit.* in n.2; Turner, *op. cit.* in n.3; Buckland, *op. cit.* in n.9.

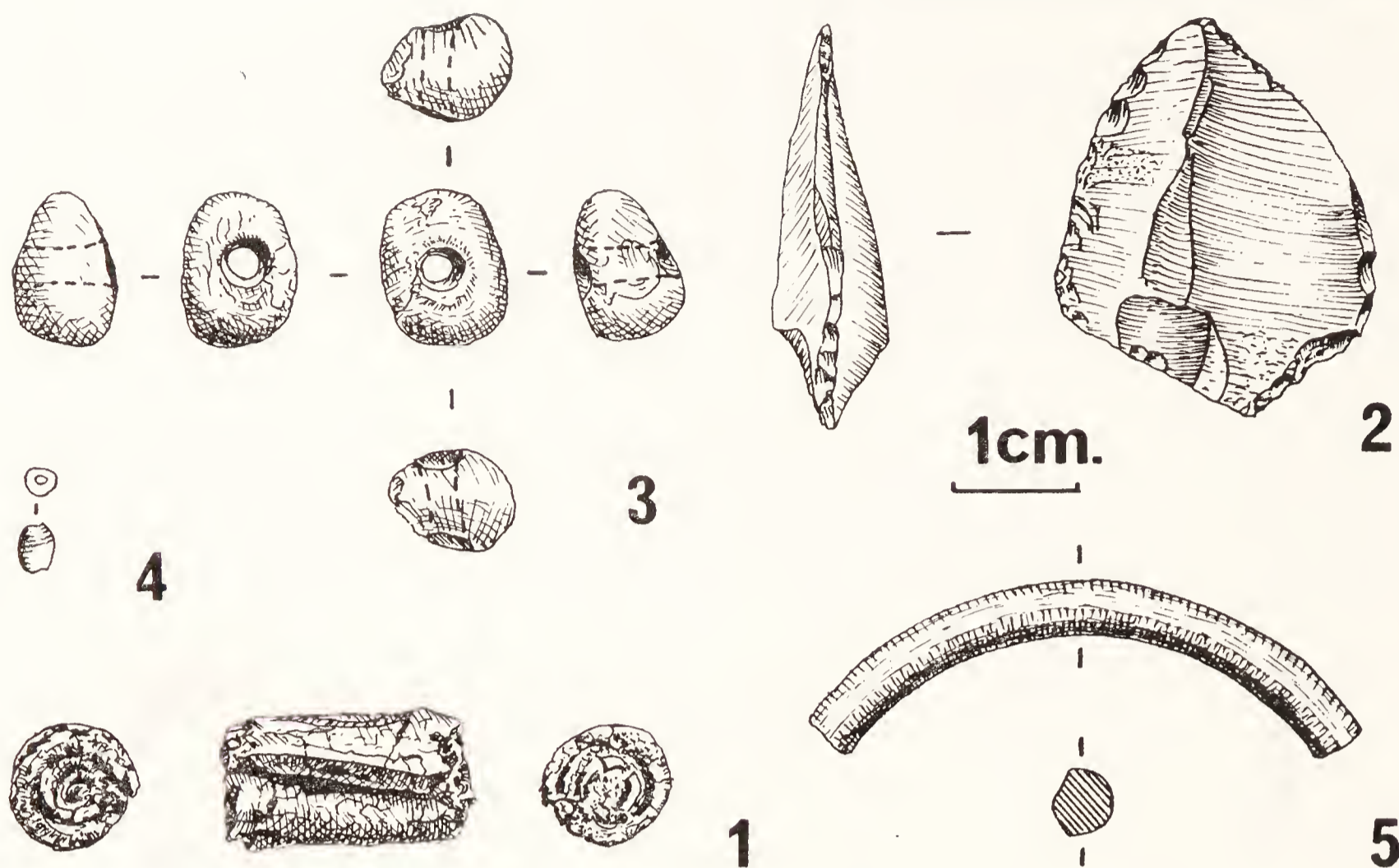


FIG. 7. Sandtoft: non-ceramic items.

least 4 m of grey reduced silts (Fig. 8). The unstable nature of the sections made any attempt to reach the base of the channel hazardous and sampling was restricted to the top metre of the grey reduced silts. A ^{14}C date on the probable base of the old Idle, however, is available from Misterton Carr, 13 km to the south and this date of 4330 ± 100 B.P. (Birm. 326)¹³ lies close to that obtained from the Old Don at Thorne Waterside, 7 km north-west of the Sandtoft site, 4320 ± 120 B.P. (Birm. 359). In the Thorne section the change from grey reduced to more oxidised silts, identical with the warp of the present flood plain, in the fluvial succession was also noted but could not be dated. At Sandtoft, it was apparent that the change had taken place during the late Roman period or immediately after. The occupation of the adjacent sand ridge was marked by several lenses of clean sand at the top of the reduced silts and, immediately beneath the fairly abrupt transition to oxidised alluvium, a Romano-British grey ware base was recovered. The change in character of the alluvium was also associated with flooding on the site and several ditches were filled with alluvium. Insect faunas from the top of the grey reduced silts supported the palynological evidence from Hatfield and Thorne¹⁴ for a cleared landscape and there was no trace of the 'Urwald' fauna recovered from Middle Bronze Age deposits on Thorne Moors.¹⁵ A considerable dung beetle fauna implies the presence of herbivores in the adjoining settlement, although there were few bones preserved in the rather acid sands. Insect evidence from both settlement ditches and old river bed suggest a mixed farming economy.

General Conclusions

Although in comparison with other sites on the Chase, finds, particularly of pottery, were relatively prolific, insufficient were stratified for close dating. The rectilinear enclosures would appear, both on the finds and stratigraphy, to be later than all but the slightly ditched

¹³ P. C. Buckland and M. J. Dolby, 'Mesolithic and Later Material from Misterton Carr, Notts: An Interim report', *Trans Thoroton Soc.* 77 (1973), pp. 5-13.

¹⁴ Smith, *op. cit.* in n. 2.

¹⁵ P. C. Buckland and H. K. Kenward, 'Thorne Moor: a palaeoecological study of a Bronze Age site', *Nature* 241 (1973), pp. 405-6.

less regular enclosure, which produced no finds. Later pottery, belonging to the latter half of the fourth century, was recovered from the top of the ditches of the double ditched enclosure to the east of the excavated area during the construction of the motorway. The pit (P6), cutting into the northern ditch of the smaller enclosure, was the latest individual feature which could be stratigraphically related and may belong to the period of occupation of the later enclosures. It is apparent that flooding was an increasing problem during the latter part of the history of the site and the migration eastwards along the sand ridge to the marginally drier ground, about 0.5 m higher, occupied by the double ditched enclosure may relate to this.

The earlier occupation is more difficult to elucidate. Some mid-second-century Samian ware occurred in the ploughsoil and the segments of eaves-drip and confusion of gullies clearly relate to an earlier phase, or phases, on differing alignments, although any orientation, in part, relates to the curve of the river bank.

The bulk of the pottery, both from the ploughsoil and excavated features (Fig. 6), bears out the evidence of the coins for fourth-century occupation and most of the stratified material was recovered from two pits (P2 and P4) and the ditches of the enclosures. Much is directly comparable, in both form and fabric, with the products of kilns in South Yorkshire. Several vessels can be paralleled at the Branton kilns,¹⁶ close to the River Torne, a tributary of the Idle, 13 km south-west of Sandtoft, and some resemble the late Cantley products, particularly those of kilns 7, 33-4 and 38-9;¹⁷ all seem to belong to the first half of the fourth century. North Lincolnshire products are also represented, particularly by the calcite-gritted jars known as Dales Ware, whose production seems to span the period c. A.D. 200-350.¹⁸ The fragments of skerry and Blue Lias must have also originated in the Isle of Axholme, or Crowle, and North Lincolnshire. Lying close to the confluence of the Don and Idle, the Sandtoft site is ideally situated to draw pottery from both principal source areas and may have functioned as something of a market centre for the numerous lesser settlements in its hinterland.

Although pottery belonging to the latter half of the fourth century, including 'Signal Stations' types, was recovered from the upper filling of the ditches on the south side of the double ditched enclosure by M. Felcey during motorway construction (pers. comm.), the site cannot be regarded as satisfactorily dated until examined in more detail. Both in size and disposition, this enclosure, 120 m across the interior, resembles the late Roman fort at Scaftworth, 17 km to the south,¹⁹ and is strategically well situated for controlling navigation on both the Don and Idle. Similar rectilinear enclosures, however, occur widely on both the Magnesian Limestone and Drift soils of South Yorkshire²⁰ and are unlikely to be entirely of military significance; only further excavation can clarify the point.

The problems of late Roman flooding on Fenland sites have excited considerable comment.²¹ Most authors assume a synchronicity of events which cannot be demonstrated on the archaeological evidence and it would be simplistic to argue, as Potter does,²² for change in alluviation to be contemporary on a European scale—in the English Lakes, the Fens and Italy. Superficially, late or post-Roman flooding at Sandtoft could be fitted into this pattern but the changes in the character and deposition in the Rivers Don and Idle at this period

¹⁶ P. C. Buckland, 'A Romano-British pottery kiln site at Branton, near Doncaster', *Y.A.J.* 48 (1976), pp. 69-82.

¹⁷ F. K. Annable, *The Romano-British Pottery at Cantley Housing Estate, Doncaster. Kilns 1-8.* (Doncaster 1960) and unpublished material.

¹⁸ N. Loughlin, 'Dales Ware, a contribution to the study of Romano-British coarse pottery' in D. P. S. Peacock (ed.), *Pottery and Early Commerce* (London 1977), pp. 85-146.

¹⁹ J. F. Bartlett and D. N. Riley, 'The Roman Fort at Scaftworth, near Bawtry'. *Trans Thoroton Soc.* 62 (1958), pp. 23-55.

²⁰ D. N. Riley, 'Aerial Reconnaissance of the West Riding Magnesian Limestone Country'. *Y.A.J.* 45 (1973), pp. 210-213.

²¹ e.g. Phillips, *op. cit.* in n.1.

²² T. W. Potter, 'Valleys and settlement: some new evidence'. *World Archaeology* 8 (1976), pp. 210-219.

suggest the possibility of anthropogenic control. Shotton, working in the Avon Valley in Warwickshire, has noticed a similar change from grey reduced silts to oxidised silts on the flood-plain and suggests that it represents either a critical juncture in forest clearance or changing farming methods introducing larger quantities of topsoil to the river system and choking the valleys.²³ In the Avon and Lower Severn catchment, this change takes place in the Late Bronze Age; on the Hatfield Levels, however, the transition takes place in the Late Roman period, after a considerable period during which the local landscape had been clear of extensive forest. It is possible that this radical and widespread, if diachronous event relates to increased arable over pastoral pressures or changes within the system of arable exploitation; interpretation is complicated by the Turnbrigg dyke, an artificial waterway possibly of Roman date, diverting the main channel of the Don from the Trent to the Aire.²⁴ Neglect of its necessary sluices could have led to flooding but the changes in the alluvium, which, in its oxidised form does not yield much environmental evidence, are clearly of more widespread significance; the change in disposition of settlements between the Roman and medieval periods on the lower parts of the Chase may be related to the unforeseen consequences of changes in agricultural techniques in the Late Roman period leading to extensive flooding. These changes may be traceable elsewhere in the Vale of York. Ramm has made out a strong case for late and post-Roman flooding influencing settlement in York²⁵ and, although the evidence is inconclusive,²⁶ a cursory examination of the alluvium in the Ouse catchment, along the north side of Hatfield Chase does suggest similar changes. At Faxfleet, north of the mouth of the Trent, Bartlett obtained Roman occupation material including Dales Ware, from beneath up to 2 m of warp,²⁷ and, at Brough-on-Humber, Wachter had similar evidence of flooding during the Roman period.²⁸ The Humber Estuary, however, is more liable to direct maritime influences and changes in the tidal regime may be as significant as a rising sea level or an increased silt load in the rivers flowing into the basin.

Such a hypothesis need not wholly deny climatic or eustatic parameters but it does emphasise the need for a close examination of local factors and local stratigraphy before appealing to pre-existing poorly tested models.

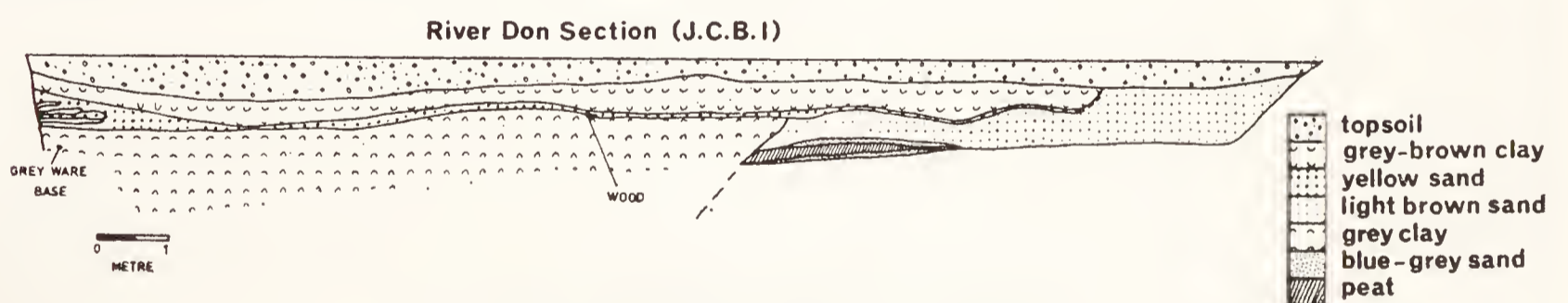


FIG. 8. Sandtoft: section across Old Don.

APPENDIX THE MAMMALIAN BONES BY MARY HARMAN

All the bones were examined. They were extremely friable due to the acid soil conditions, and most were represented only by parts, often fragmentary. The condition indicates that many small bones have probably decayed entirely, and there is, therefore, a bias in favour

²³ F. W. Shotton, 'Archaeological inferences from the study of alluvium in the lower Severn-Avon valleys' in Evans, Limbrey and Cleere, *op. cit.* in n. 11, pp. —.

²⁴ G. D. Gaunt, 'The Artificial Nature of the River Don North of Thorne, Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.* 47 (1975), pp. 15–22.

²⁵ H. G. Ramm, 'The End of Roman York' in R. M. Butler (ed.), *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire* (Leicester 1971), pp. 179–199.

²⁶ P. C. Buckland, 'Archaeology and Environment in York', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 1 (1974), pp. 303–316.

²⁷ Bartlett, in correspondence, Loughlin, *op. cit.* in n. 18.

²⁸ J. S. Wachter, *Excavations at Brough-on-Humber 1958–61*, Soc. of Ants. res. rep. 25 (Leeds 1969), pp. 76–81.

of large and thick bones and teeth, especially those of the larger animals such as cattle.

The number of bones identified from each species is shown in Table 1. Those in brackets are part of a complete skeleton of a cattle beast aged between six months and a year, which was found in the trench J.C.B. 2, a section across the old River Don. The bones were in clay and were considerably better preserved than those found on the rest of the site. No other bones from young animals were found, though had there been, they are unlikely to have survived.

A sample so small, and with a bias due to the circumstances of preservation, does not permit of further comment.

TABLE 1
Numbers of bones from different species found on the site

	Cattle		Sheep/Goat		
	L	R	L	R	
Skull		(1)			+Pig: L. and R. mandibles
Maxilla	2			1	2 teeth
Mandible	3	2		1	R. femus
Tooth		18(1)	4		Horse: R. maxilla
Vertebra		2(10)			R. radius
Rib		2(27)			
Scapula	1				
Radius		1			
Pelvis				1	
Femur					
Tibia	1				
Astragalus		1			
Total		35+(39)	7		

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A TWELFTH-CENTURY STAMFORD WARE PITCHER FROM THE ROMAN FORT, SLACK, OUTLANE, NEAR HUDDERSFIELD

BY J. A. GILKS

During the course of excavations at the Roman Fort, Slack, Outlane, near Huddersfield (SE 097175), A. M. Woodward and P. W. Dodd,² found between 1913 and 1915, numerous sherds of late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century East Pennine Gritty Ware, including fragments from cooking pots, storage jars and glazed jugs, in disturbed Roman deposits and in the plough soil. Possibly due to the lack of knowledge at that time of the origins, development and date of medieval ceramics, the significance of the sherds was not realised and they were incorporated in the collection of Roman pottery from the site, now housed at the Tolson Memorial Museum. Most of the Roman pottery excavated received detailed treatment and a series of types were published, but several boxes of sherds remained unsorted. In one of these the writer found further fragments of East Pennine Gritty Ware cooking pots and jugs and a single sherd from a three-handled twelfth-century Stamford Ware pitcher.³

The find-spot of this vessel is of some archaeological importance, as also are other finds of pottery of this type from sites in Northern England, for they serve to illustrate the wide area of distribution of the better quality products being produced by potters working in, and to the north of, Stamford during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

DESCRIPTION

Only one large sherd of this vessel survives. It is in a hard, smooth, buff-orange fabric with no visible additional tempering medium, and with darker buff-orange surfaces, covered on the upper half of the interior, along the top of the rim and down the strap handle on to the body, with a patchy yellowish-green glaze, which in places is much decayed. The diameter at the rim is 19.3 cm, the height (remaining) 9.5 cm: originally the vessel was probably about 27.0 cm high, with a short tubular spout applied to the neck and rim, a plain sagging base and with three broad, thin, strap handles (only one remains) bridging the neck, and attached at their lower ends to the upper part of the body.⁴

The pitcher is decorated on the exterior with pairs of shallow circumferential grooves in the neck and on the upper part of the body, and along the top of the rim and down the sides of the strap handle (which has two large thumb prints at its base) with finger-printing.

¹ The writer would like to thank the following individuals for advice given to him during the preparation of this note and for allowing him to study material in their keeping: Mr. P. V. Addyman, York Archaeological Trust; Mr. F. A. Aberg, Adult Education Centre, Middlesbrough; Mr. J. Bartlett, City Museum, Sheffield; Dr. R. L. S. Bruce Mitford and Mr. J. Cherry, British Museum; the late Mr. A. Butterworth and the present keeper, Mrs. E. Hartley, The Yorkshire Museum, York; Mr. M. J. Dolby, Museum and Art Gallery, Doncaster; Mr. J. G. Hurst, Department of the Environment; Mr. P. Mayes and Mr. S. A. Moorhouse, West Yorkshire Archaeological Unit, Leeds; Mrs. H. E. J. Le Patourel, Ilkley; Mr. J. G. Rutter, Museum of Archaeology, Scarborough; Mr. M. G. Welsh, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Mr. L. P. Wenham, St. John's College, York and Miss N. Whitcomb, Museum of Archaeology, Hull.

² Dodd, P. W., and Woodward, A. M., 'Excavations at Slack, 1913-1915', *Y.A.J.* 26 (1922), pp. 1-92.

³ The pitcher has been briefly described by the writer in 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Register, 1972', *Y.A.J.* 45 (1973), p. 204.

⁴ I have based my reconstruction on the Stamford Ware pitchers from St. Leonard's Priory, Stamford, described by Dunning, G. C., Hurst, J. G., Myres, J. N. L., and Tischler, F., 'Anglo-Saxon Pottery: A Symposium', *Med. Arch.* 3 (1959), pp. 37-42, Fig. 16. 1; an example from the Angel Inn, Oxford, published by Bruce Mitford, R. L. S., and Jope, E. M., 'Eleventh and Twelfth Century Pottery from the Oxford Region', *Oxoniensia* 5 (1940), pp. 42-9, Fig. 8. 3. Pl. XI. A and B, and that from Oxford High Street, London, illustrated by Rackham, B., *Medieval English Pottery*, 2nd ed. (1972), pp. 7, 15, 17, Pl. 6.

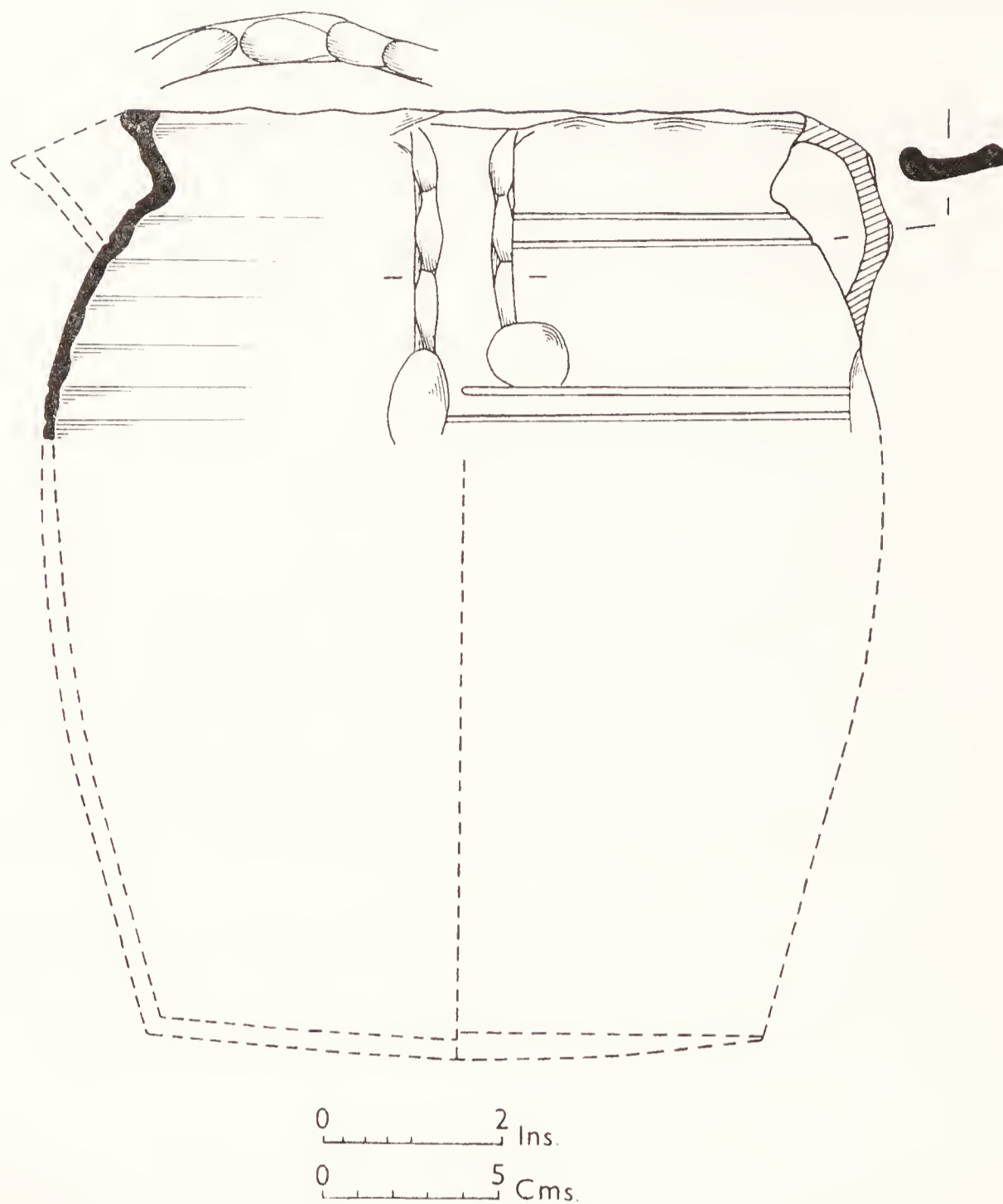


FIG. 1. A pitcher from Slack.

COMMENT

No complete pitchers, and relatively few fragments of this particular type have been found on early medieval sites in Yorkshire; indeed, most of the Stamford Ware recovered is of a fragmentary nature and few vessels of any type can be reconstructed with any degree of precision to give complete and acceptable profiles. Whilst Stamford Ware has been found on numerous sites to the east of the Pennines, the bulk of the material available for study comes from York. Here Stamford Ware is well represented in Saxo-Norman pottery assemblages where cooking pots and bowls, often with splashes of yellow-green glaze, and occasionally pitchers, similarly glazed, occur at sites like Feasegate 1⁵ and 2,⁶ King's Square 1⁷ and 2,⁸ Low Petergate,⁹ Hungate,¹⁰ Lloyds Bank, Pavement,¹¹ and Church Street.¹²

⁵ Dyer, J., and Wenham, L. P., 'Excavations and Discoveries in a Cellar in Messrs. Chas. Hart's Premises, Feasegate, York, 1956', *Y.A.J.* 39 (1958), p. 424, Fig. 4. 1.

⁶ Stead, I. M., 'Excavations at the South Corner Tower of the Roman Fortress at York, 1956', *Y.A.J.* 39 (1958), p. 423.

⁷ Le Patourel, H. E. J., 'Medieval Pottery', in Stead, I. M., 'An Excavation at King's Square, York, 1957', *Y.A.J.* 42 (1968), pp. 155-58, 160, Figs. 5-7, Nos. 5, 10, 11, 18, 19, 23, 25, 29, 31, 38, 39, 55.

⁸ Le Patourel, H. E. J., 'The Pottery', in Wenham, L. P., 'Discoveries at King's Square, York, 1963', *Y.A.J.* 42 (1968), pp. 165-67, Fig. 1. 18-23.

⁹ Le Patourel, H. E. J., 'Medieval Pottery', in Wenham, L. P., 'Excavations in Low Petergate, York, 1957-58', *Y.A.J.* 44 (1972), pp. 108-9, Fig. 28. 4-7, 10.

¹⁰ Richardson, K. M., 'Excavations in Hungate, York', *Arch. J.* 96 (1959), pp. 79-81, Fig. 17. 50, 55, 56.

¹¹ Briefly described by Radley, J., in 'Economic Aspects of Anglo-Danish York', *Med. Arch.* 15 (1971), pp. 52-4; further information on this material was kindly provided by Mr. P. V. Addyman, York Archaeological Trust.

¹² Information kindly provided by Mr. P. V. Addyman, York Archaeological Trust, in advance of his own publication.

In this brief note, however, I am solely concerned with spouted pitchers of Slack type, and related jugs which possess similar decorative motifs, and not with Stamford Ware as a whole, for this is receiving detailed treatment elsewhere.¹³ A plain rim sherd of identical profile to the Slack vessel comes from King's Square 1,¹⁴ whilst fragments of at least two others, and three northern Stamford Ware pitcher bases, occurred at Low Petergate.¹⁵ None of the rim sherds found so far in York possess spouts, nor have any detached or fragmented spouts been recovered from recent excavations. The horizontal grooved decoration and the thumb-printing present on the Slack pitcher are features which do not occur on the York vessels, although these traits are present on pitchers from the Midlands.¹⁶ As Hurst points out, pitchers with spaced horizontal grooves are exceptionally rare in the areas where they were produced,¹⁷ only one example coming from Stamford itself,¹⁸ but they do occur in greater numbers in export regions such as Oxford.¹⁹ By the end of the twelfth century the grooves on the body tend to be grouped in bands, as on the Slack vessel, and this style persisted into the thirteenth century where it can be seen on two stamped jugs from Pontefract Priory.²⁰ A highly atypical feature of the pitcher from Slack is the thumb-printing along the top of the rim, a form of decoration not found on other exported vessels in the north and only rarely on pitchers from the Midlands.

The source of manufacture of the Slack pitcher is problematical, for it has not been possible to prepare thin sections of the fabric for microscopic examination, a crucial factor very relevant in determining the source of the clay used. The thin, light-coloured fabric of fine quality, the patchy yellowish-green glaze, the thumb-printing on the rim, the grooves in zones on the body, and the small strap handle bridging the neck, which has a rounded cordon, do, however, suggest a source somewhere to the north of Stamford rather than Stamford itself, although the kilns in Stamford show a wide range of fabric types in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

¹³ A Study of Saxo-Norman pottery in Yorkshire is currently being undertaken by Mrs. H. E. J. Patourel, Ilkley, who has very kindly provided information on pitchers from York in advance of her own publication.

¹⁴ Le Patourel, *op. cit.* in note 7 above, p. 158, Fig. 5. 18.

¹⁵ Le Patourel, *op. cit.* in note 9 above, p. 109, Fig. 28. 7.

¹⁶ I am indebted to Mr. G. C. Dunning and Mrs. H. E. J. Le Patourel, for advice on pitchers from the Midlands.

¹⁷ Hurst, J. G., 'Stamford Ware, A Group of Jugs', in Bellamy, C. V., with Le Patourel, H. E. J., and Ryder, M. L., 'Pontefract Priory Excavations, 1957-1961', *P. Thoresby S.* 49 (1965), p. 121.

¹⁸ Dunning, *op. cit.* in note 4, pp. 37-42, Fig. 16. 1.

¹⁹ Hurst, *op. cit.*, in note 17, p. 121.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-22, Fig. 28. 1 and 3.

YORK'S EARLIEST ADMINISTRATIVE RECORD: THE HUSGABEL ROLL OF c. 1284.

By D. M. PALLISER

Summary The earliest surviving record produced by the civic authorities of York and preserved in their archives has been identified as a husgabel roll of c. 1284. The nature of husgabel, an ancient royal tax on house property in towns, is discussed. The document is described and the areas covered by its sections are tentatively located. It is incomplete but lists at least 481 tofts in the Bootham, Goodramgate and Micklegate areas. A full transcript of the roll is provided.

York has been unfortunate in the loss of its early archives for a city of such importance in the Middle Ages. It began to acquire local government in the twelfth century, if not earlier; it possessed a civic seal by 1207, a mayor by 1213, and bailiffs from soon afterwards. By 1229 it had its own coroners, and by 1290 chamberlains also, besides lesser officers. In other words, it developed an administration of some complexity during the thirteenth century, and it must have been generating its own archives from an early date, certainly well before the office of common (town) clerk is first recorded in 1317. Yet until recently not a single document drawn up by the civic authorities was known to survive datable earlier than the fourteenth century. The oldest and most treasured section of the city archives, the royal charters, commence with one granted by Henry II between 1154 and 1158,¹ but these of course do not qualify as internal civic documents. The earliest freemen's register, though it begins with entries for the year 1272, is a later transcript of lists which have since been lost or destroyed.² In contrast, 'the earliest administrative records written and preserved in an English borough for its own purposes, and surviving there today', date from 1196 (Leicester), 1209 (Shrewsbury) and 1227 (Wallingford). G. H. Martin, who listed these early survivals in 1962, accepted 22 English boroughs as having preserved original administrative records earlier than 1300. It is a small and select band, reduced by the hazards of destruction; among the 'unlucky towns' which Professor Martin singles out as excluded 'by mischievous chance' are Lincoln and York.³ The identification of the manuscript printed below as datable to the 1280's allows York to be added to the number, a discovery of some importance for the history of English borough archives in general as well as for York in particular.

The existence of the manuscript in question, York City Archives C.60, has long been known, but Giles's catalogue mistakenly identified it as part of a chamberlains' roll, of early but unknown date. It is clearly not that, but it should be said that the manuscript is incomplete, damaged, and partly illegible. Canon Raine realised that Giles's identification was wrong, but, unable to read much of it, he at first identified it as 'a tax return for York' of 1280, and later described part of it as a 'rent roll of property in Bootham c. 1280',⁴ whereas it is not a tax return, nor a rent roll in the usual sense of that term. It was identified as a husgabel roll of c. 1280 by Miss Joyce Fowkes (now Mrs. Percy) while City Archivist, and she was the first to make a transcript, which is kept in the archives and which was later revised by Dr. John H. Harvey. The following text has been rendered much easier by their

¹ W. Giles, *Catalogue of the Charters, House Books . . . and other Books, Deeds, and Old Documents, belonging to the Corporation of York* . . . (pr. for York Corporation, 1909), p. 11, dated this charter to 1155 X 1162, as did W. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I (pr. for the author, Edinburgh, 1914), p. 171; but E. Miller, 'Medieval York', *Victoria County History of York*, ed. P. M. Tillott (London, 1961) p. 31, redates it 1154 X 1158.

² For an analysis of the register, see R. B. Dobson, 'Admissions to the freedom of the City of York in the later middle ages', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. XXVI (1973), pp. 1-22.

³ G. H. Martin, 'The English borough in the thirteenth century', *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* 5th ser. 13 (1963), pp. 128-31, 141.

⁴ *York City Council Minutes 1940-41*, pp. 469-70; A. Raine, *Mediaeval York: a Topographical Survey based on Original Sources* (London, 1955), p. 261 and n.

work, although it has been re-transcribed directly from the original, and it has been possible with the use of ultra-violet light to reduce the number of illegible entries.

Husgabel (*husgabulum*) or gavelgeld were the terms used at York for a tax paid to the king or archbishop on house properties: husgabel means simply a rent (*gafol*) on a house, and it was a source of income for the medieval kings from many if not all royal boroughs. It is not clear why, in York as in some other towns, some properties paid and others did not, but F. W. Maitland, who gives the most lucid account of it, demonstrates that it was a charge imposed by the time of Domesday Book which remained unchanged for centuries. At Cambridge rather under half the houses paid 'haw-gavel', hawgable or hagable, later corrupted to 'high gable', which gave rise to popular misconceptions about the high gables of houses. The total raised from landgable (on the arable fields) and housgable was £7 3s 6d at Cambridge in 1086, nearly £8 in 1279, and £7 1s 3¼d in 1485–86, 'a marvellous permanence'.⁵ There was a similar system in force at Huntingdon, where sums between 2d and 3¼d were paid yearly to the king under the name of husgabel (*nomine hagabil*), and at Bedford £25 11s 10d was payable to him from certain husgabel tenements (*in quodam hagabili*).⁶ At Lincoln, on the other hand, the equivalent rent was called landgable and was levied at a uniform rent of 1d a year on every house in the city. Most citizens paid it to the king, though those dwelling within the liberties of the bishop or secular landowners paid it to their lord instead.⁷

At York, similarly, husgabel was levied by the crown on some if not all properties from Norman times at latest. It was already recorded, as a charge on property, by Henry I's reign, and the pipe roll of 1295 recorded it as royal income 'from certain inhabited houses, 1d, from others, ½d, and from others, ¼d.' It formed one of the items of revenue making up the city 'farm' of £100 for which the sheriffs of Yorkshire accounted to the king until the year 1212, when the responsibility was transferred to the citizens. Thereafter it was one of the revenues collected by the citizens as a means of paying their new farm of £160 yearly to the king.⁸ Not all husgabel in the city, however, belonged to the crown or to the corporation on the king's behalf. The archbishop's rights in York about the year 1080 included every third penny from Walmgate, Fishergate, the Fish Market and the Gildgarth, and in 1106 this was amplified to make it clear that in Walmgate and Fishergate, whose ever the land might be, a third part belonged to the archbishop of all pleas, toll, husgabel and custom.⁹ The archbishop plainly enjoyed, like the bishop of Lincoln, the royal right of husgabel from some properties; and deeds of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries relating to the Walmgate area show husgabel still being paid to the archbishop.¹⁰

The following document is apparently an incomplete husgabel roll of the late thirteenth century. Some groups of entries, it is true, list rent payments as well as, or in place of, husgabel payments, but the rents specified are not numerous or varied enough to represent all the assigned rents that there would have been; and the purpose of the list must have been primarily a survey of husgabel despite the inclusion of properties which did not pay it. The roll has no heading, and some membranes are missing; the only areas covered by the surviving parts are Goodramgate (?), Bootham, Monkgate and the Micklegate area, so that entries for most of the centre of the city and the entire district east of Foss are lost. The total husgabel payable by the city is noted on the last membrane as £7 2s 3¼d,¹¹ but the surviving

⁵ F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough* (C.U.P. 1898), pp. 48, 70, 71, 74, 84, 143, 180–82. The earliest hagable roll has been printed in full, with notes and sections from others, in W. M. Palmer (ed.), *Cambridge Borough Documents I* (C.U.P. 1931), pp. 57–75.

⁶ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* I, 448; W. Page, ed., *The Victoria County History of Bedford III* (London, 1912), p. 16.

⁷ J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (1948), pp. 55–62.

⁸ E. Miller, *op. cit.* in n. 1, pp. 30, 31, 35.

⁹ F. Liebermann and M. H. Peacock, 'An English document of about 1080', *Y.A.J.* 18 (1905), 413–15; A. G. Dickens, 'The "shire" and privileges of the archbishop in eleventh century York', *Y.A.J.* 38 (1953), pp. 139–40.

¹⁰ e.g. York Merchant Adventurers' archives, D 19, deeds 7, 18, etc.

¹¹ The total has been previously read as 42s–3¼d, but the ultra-violet lamp reveals an otherwise invisible capital C at the start of the total, giving Cxlijs. iijd. ob. qua'.

entries, listing at least 481 tofts, total only some £2 10s 0d, so that nearly two-thirds of the entries must be lacking. The total also indicates a drive by Edward I's administration, in this as in so many other ways, to enforce his fiscal rights to the full. He refused any abatement of the £160 annual farm, presumably compelling the citizens to exact the maximum husgabel to offset the charge; and when he took the city into his hands in the years 1280–82 his agents ensured that the sources of the farm were tapped to the full. In 1280 the sheriff accounted to the king for £4 'de quadam consuetudine annua que vocata housgable', and in 1282 for £5 16s 1½d 'de redditu qui vocatur husgavel'.¹² Since the roll here printed probably dates from about 1284, as will be suggested, the total sum raised was rising steadily. However, it must be said that there was a limit to the process, because the revenues assigned to the farm were inadequate. When the city was next in the king's hands in 1292–93, his keepers were unable to raise more than £6 9s 2d from husgable and rents together.¹³

The roll consists of seven membranes of unequal length, which have in modern times been restored, stitched together and numbered from 1/23 to 7/23; the significance of the number 23 is not clear. However, the foot of membrane 7 fits perfectly with the top of membrane 1, which in turn ends with the grand total for the city. No other such clear misplacing has been identified, so the document has been printed in the order of numbering except for the addition of m.1 to the end instead of the beginning. Nevertheless there are clearly gaps within the present sequence as well as at the beginning, and it cannot be assumed that all the membranes are in their correct order.

A brief description, and tentative geographical identification, of each section may be helpful. M.2 (c. 16 in. long) is irregularly cut at the top, damaging the first entry; it is unheaded, but as entries 18 and 28 refer to the Bedern, and other properties in the section were also held by the vicars choral, they were probably in the Goodramgate area. Nos. 29 and 30 almost certainly refer to Jewbury, since John le Romeyn's property there passed to the vicars, and James de Cimiterio had a house there adjoining the Jewish cemetery.¹⁴ No. 30 has a detailed reference to a lawsuit brought by the vicars which, among its other points of interest, provides one of the earliest references to York's Gildhall (*gilda aula*).¹⁵ There follow entries headed 'Bouthum', and then at the foot the heading 'infra muros ecclesie'. As, however, m. 2 is complete at the foot, and m. 3 at the top, the heading presumably relates to a missing membrane. M.3 (c. 17 in.) is apparently complete and undamaged, and it lists tenants of Canon Thomas de Hedon dwelling in Monkgate. These properties were presumably quit of husgabel, since rents to the canon are listed but not husgabel payments. At the foot is a note that St. Leonard's Hospital claims jurisdiction over the men named below, which again apparently relates to a missing membrane. M.4 (c. 21 in.) is again cut at the top, and is badly damaged. The first items are therefore unheaded, but the heading after entry 142 makes it clear that they form part of a list of tenants in the king's mediety beyond the Ouse. The rest of the membrane is headed 'Ultra Usam', though it is not clear how the two lists differ. M.5 (c. 13 in.) is complete at the top but cut at the foot; it can be identified with confidence as a Micklegate list. Dr. J. H. Harvey has identified the entries from 176 as relating to the south side of Micklegate below St. Martin's church, no. 177 for example being the present 23–25 Micklegate and no. 179 being the present 35–37 Micklegate.¹⁶ The entry between, the toft of Alice de Stavelay, clearly refers to the property which Alice must have acquired at some date between 1281 and 1290.¹⁷ In fact Dr. Harvey, followed by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, ascribes 118 tofts in the list to Micklegate, *i.e.* the

¹² *York Memorandum Book*, ed. M. Sellers, I (Surtees Society. CXX, 1912), pp. 123, 124.

¹³ Miller, *op. cit.* in n. 1, p. 35.

¹⁴ Information kindly supplied by Dr. R. M. Butler from the vicars' archives.

¹⁵ First mentioned, both as Guildhall and Common Hall, in the mid-thirteenth century: *V.C.H. York*, pp. 34, 542.

¹⁶ R.C.H.M. *City of York*, III (1972), 73, 74; private communication from Dr. Harvey.

¹⁷ *Yorkshire Deeds*, VII, ed. C. T. Clay (Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser. lxxxiii, 1932), pp. 184, 185.

entire section 143–248.¹⁸ M.6 (c. 30in.) is, like m. 3, a complete and undamaged membrane; the entries to 248 inclusive relate to Micklegate, and the note ‘extra barram’ written against 249 suggests that the whole section 249–271 inclusive relates to Blossom Street, assuming that the list is following a logical topographical order. The rest of the document lists, apparently in full, all the properties within the walls to the south of Micklegate; North Street seems, curiously, to be missing. The street headings are clear, and the identification of m. 7 (c. 3in.) and m. 1 (c. 10in.) as the upper and lower halves of one originally complete membrane makes the order logical. A Skeldergate section (272–319) is followed by sections on Lounlithgate (320–334), Littlegate (335–352), Feltergayl (353–362) and Besingate (363–373). Lounlithgate is now Victor Street, Littlegate is St. Martin’s Lane, Feltergayl is Fetter Lane, and Besingate may have corresponded to the present Bishophill Senior.¹⁹

Further research on the names recorded in the roll could identify more of the properties, but it has seemed worthwhile to publish the list now for the benefit of other historians, without an elaborate apparatus of footnotes. The only point essential to the present purpose is the dating of the roll as closely as possible. Unfortunately the three identifiable senior clerics holding property all spanned a rather broad period: Simon de Barneby (no. 16) was dean of the Christianity of York between 1279 at latest and 1290 or later; Stephen de Sutton (no. 25) was prebendary of South Newbald from 1268 or earlier until about 1290; and Thomas de Hedon (no. 48 *et seqq.*) was prebendary of Fridaythorpe from 1279 at latest until 1289 or later.²⁰ However, entry no. 178, as already mentioned, firmly indicates a date between 1281 and 1290, and the last eyre held at York by John de Vaux (no. 30) took place in late 1281 or early 1282.²¹ Nos. 327 and 329–31, properties of the heir of Alan de Walsingham, imply that Alan had recently died, and his death is known to have occurred shortly before 24 December 1283.²² Ingram ‘le Tayllur’ (no. 265) was probably identical with the Ingram ‘Cissor’ who died in or before 1286,²³ and the reference to Dom. John le Romeyn (no. 29) would scarcely have so entitled him after his election to the archbishopric on 29 October 1285. The roll can therefore be dated, with some confidence, to 1283 x 1285, and it is unfortunate that the only topographical use previously made of it in print gives a firm date of 1282 without explanation.²⁴

The following text is an exact transcription of all legible entries, except that the word ‘Item’ at the head of each entry is replaced by a number for ease of reference. Illegible words are indicated by dashes, and doubtful readings by a question mark. Contractions are expanded without indication, except for the standard phrase ‘Et reddit domino Regis pro husgabulo (gabellagio)’ which follows nearly every entry. This has been abbreviated ‘Et r.d.R.p.h.’ or ‘Et r.d.R.p.g.’ Contractions have been left untouched if the expanded word is not clear, an apostrophe being employed to indicate such words. The use of capital letters, and of ‘u’ and ‘v’, has been standardised in accordance with modern practice.

(m. 2)

1. (-----) 4 tofta & reddit (communie Vicariorum?) 8s Et d. R.	d.
2. Adam del Dike unum toftum & reddit communie Vicariorum 5s Et d. R.	4
3. Henricus Belle unum toftum & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 4s Et d. R.	1
	2

¹⁸ R.C.H.M. *City of York*, III, p. 68.

¹⁹ Raine, *Mediaeval York*, pp. 235–39, 242; D. M. Palliser, ‘The medieval street-names of York’, in *York Historian* 2 (1978), pp. 2–16.

²⁰ *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 12, 126; *Reg. John le Romeyn*, I, xxv, 23, 25, 32, 47; II, 55; Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, II, 32, 61.

²¹ *Cal. Patent Rolls 1272–81*, 475; *Cal. Patent Rolls 1281–89*, 22, 42.

²² *Cal. Inquisitions post Mortem*, II, p. 325. The inquisition is unfortunately defective, and Alan’s date of death is missing.

²³ York merchants’ archives, D 19, deed no. 222.

²⁴ R.C.H.M. *City of York*, III, pp. 59, 62, 68, 101, dates the roll to 1282 precisely, apparently a slight misunderstanding of a *circa* 1282 date supplied by Dr. Harvey. Dr. Harvey has informed me that ‘the date now looks more like 1284 than 1282’.

(m. 2 cont'd)

4. Thomas de Stoketon' tenet unum toftum & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 3s Et d. R. I
5. Stephanus le Tyuler tenet duo tofta & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 2s Et d. R. 2
6. Radulfus (?) de F----- unum toftum & reddit Priori de Gromond 2s Et d.R.p.h. I
7. Isabella de R--hal tenet unum toftum & reddit fabrice Ecclesie Sancti Petri 5s Et d.R.p.h. I
8. Georgius le Flemang unum toftum & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 40s (?) Et d. R. I
9. Copinus le Flemang' tenet unum toftum & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 8s Et d.R.p.h. I
10. Willelmus Paynleve unum toftum & reddit altari Sancti Willelmi 6d Et d.R.p.h. 2
11. Aungerus de Rypon' tenet unum toftum & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 5s Et d.R. 2
12. Hugo de Collum (?) tenet unum toftum & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 5s Et d.R. 2
13. Elena Gra tenet unum toftum & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 2s Et d. R. 2
14. Rogerus le Chuller tenet unum toftum & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 12d Et d. R. p. h. I
15. Idem Vicarii tenent unum toftum & reddunt d. R. p. h. I
16. Simon Decanus Christianitatis unum toftum & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 8s Et d. R. I
17. Robertus Freynd (?) tenet unum toftum ipse (?) de Vicariis Sancti Petri & epsi de Ber' Domino de Hoton' nihil
18. Vicarii Sancti Petri tenent unum toftum quod dicitur le Bederne & reddere solebat domino Regi 10d pro husgabulo & modo nihil reddit & per ipsos solebantur -----
19. Everardus le Carpenter tenet unum toftum & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 2s 6d Et d. R. p. h. 2
20. Juliana Aubyn tenet unum toftum & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 12d Et d.R.p.h. 2
21. Vicarii Sancti Petri tenent unum toftum & reddere solebant domino Regi 2d & modo nihil reddit
22. Adam le Millard tenet unum toftum & reddit Vicariis Sancti Petri 4s Et solet reddere domino Regi 2d & modo nihil
23. Walterus le Romain tenet unum toftum & reddit Priori Sancti Oswald 20s Et solet reddere domino Regi 1d pro husgabulo
24. Vicarii Sancti Petri unum toftum quod habent de donacione Johannis Romani & ipse de Nicholao de Helle & ipse de domino Rege pro (?) 2
25. Dominus Stephanus de Sutton' tenet unum toftum de Magistro Johannis (*sic*) le Rus & solet reddere domino Regi 2d & nunc nihil reddit per ipsum sinon servitat--(?)
26. Prior de Malton' tenet unum toftum de ----- & r. d. R. 3
27. Vicarii Sancti Petri tenent 2 tofta de Johanne de Bulmer & ipse solebat reddere domino Regi 2d & modo nihil pro(?) servitio(?) subtus(?) pro ipsos
28. Vicarii Sancti Petri tenent 3 tofta que vocantur le Bederne que habuerunt de donacione Alano(?) de Milforthe & ipse illa tenuit de domino Rege per husgabulum 10
29. Matilda de Cimiterio tenet unum toftum de Vicariis Sancti Petri & ipsi de Domino Johanne de Romain de quod(am?) commune antecessor ipsius Hugonis seisset(?) Et dominus Rex solebat precipare(?) inde pro husgabulo 2d & modo sub----- est servitium(?) per ipsos Vicarios
30. Vicarii Sancti Petri tenent unam domum in qua inhabitat Alicia de Northstrete que quod domus fuit Jacobi de Cimiterio & qui clamant tenere de domino Rege et esse ei geldabit. Et dicti Vicarii implacitaverunt predictum Jacobum per undecim annos in Curia domini Regis in Gilda Aula coram Justiciariis domini Regis. Et postea in ultimo itinere J. de Vallibus per procuramentum Decani & Capituli capta fuit inquisicio per forinsecos & Justiciarii adiudicaverunt predictum tenementum esse de Libertate Sancti Petri & modo non dicunt illud tenementum esse geldabile
31. Johannes filius Johannis le Mason' tenet unum toftum de heredibus Alani de Carliolo et nihil reddit domino Regi
32. Robertus de Skerthaburg' tenet unum toftum de Johanne le Hostiario & ipse de Alano Fox & solet reddere d. R. p. h. 3
Bouthum
33. Gaudinus le Orfever tenet duo tofta de heredibus Cecilie de Karliolo Et idem de Domino Willelmo de Wyvill & r. d. R. 2
34. Willelmus de Myton' unum toftum de heredibus Stephani le Mesinger
35. Hugo de Cave tenet unum toftum
36. Radulfus de Askeham tenet unum toftum de Laurencio de Carlell & reddit Thesaurario 2s
37. Thomas Pistor & Laurencius de Bouthum' unum toftum de heredibus Johannis Pistoris & reddit Thesaurario 2s
38. Heredes Ricardi Grushcy unum toftum & reddunt Thesaurario 2s
39. Ricardus Turgys unum toftum de Ricardo de Huby(?) & reddit Thesaurario 2s
40. Johannes Spryngyald unum toftum de Thoma le Cerf & reddit Thesaurario 2s
41. Alanus de Welleburn' unum toftum de heredibus C----- de Fossecon(?) & reddit Thesaurario 2s
42. Adam Sampson' tria tofta de heredi Ricardi Gruscy & reddit eidem 4s 8d
43. Benedictus le Scipman & Willelmus filius Nigelli tenent duo tofta de Domina Eva de ----- & reddunt eidem 12d Et fabrice Ecclesie Sancti Petri 10s
44. Willelmus Tapiter tenet unum toftum de Ricardo de Strensall & reddit eidem 10d Et fabrice Ecclesie Sancti Petri 10s
45. Elena de Pontefracto duo tofta de herede Ricardi Gruscy(?) & reddit eidem 26d
46. Jurdanus de Cotham(?) unum toftum de herede Ade de Overton' & reddit eidem 2s
47. Adam de Rome unum toftum de herede Roberti(?) le Blounth & reddit eidem 2s
Infra Muros Ecclesie

(m. 4 *contd.*)

	<i>d.</i>
109. Stephanus Tracy tria tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	3
110. Walterus Noveton(?) quamdam placeam & r. d. R. p. h.	$\frac{1}{2}$
111. Prior de Drax tria tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	I
112. Prior Sancti Andree unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
113. Nicholaus de Seleby unum toftum de Philippo le Corior & r. d. R. p. h.	I
114. Magister Nicholaus de Amunderwyle de Priori Sancti Andree & r. d. R. p. h.	I
115. Nicholaus de Seleby tria tofta de Waltero de Fulford & r. d. R. p. h.	6
116. Prior de Watton unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
117. Elena Gra unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
118. ----- Verdenell unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
119. Willelmus de Clerewaus unum toftum de heredibus Turgys & r. d. R. p. h.	I
120. Matilda le Graunt unum toftum de Magistro Sancti Dionisii(?) & r. d. R. p. h.	I
121. Willelmus de Clerewaus unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
122. Adam Verdenell pro terra que fuit Uxoris Mauleverer & r. d. R. p. h.	2
123. Willelmus Fayrefax pro tria tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	3
124. Adam de Bolingbrok unum toftum de Gorena de Luda & r. d. R. p. h.	(I?)
125. Matilda del ----- unum toftum de Thoma Gra & r. d. R. p. h.	(I?)
126. ----- de ----- unum toftum(?) de Galfrido & r. d. R. p. h.	-
127. Robertus de ----- unum toftum de ----- & r. d. R. p. h.	-
128. Willelmus le Pelter unum toftum de ----- le Graunt & r. d. R. p. h.	-
129. Walterus le Orbatur unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
130. Johannes de Warthill' unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
131. Stephanus de Cotington' unum toftum de Preciosa de Clifford & r. d. R. p. h.	I
132. Stephanus de Cotington' unum toftum de Ada(?) de Barneby & r. d. R. p. h.	(I?)
133. Willelmus le Forester unum toftum de Clemente le Rumangurd & r. d. R. p. h.	I
134. (Her)es Radulfi de Bouthom tria tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	6
135. Adam del Gayll unum toftum de Priore Sancti Andree pro husgabulo	2
136. ----- unum toftum de Thoma de Usegate & r. d. R. p. h.	I
137. ----- unum toftum de Henrico filio Henrici de Benigburg & r. d. R. p. h.	I
138. ----- unum toftum de Rogero de Kelkefeld & r. d. R. p. h.	2
139. ----- unum toftum de Nicholao de Seleby & r. d. R. p. h.	}
140. ----- de Geronia de Brettegate & r. d. R. p. h.	2
141. ----- unum(?) toftum de Nicholao de Holteby & r. d. R. p. h.	2
142. Rogerus de Sutton(?) duo tofta de Willelmo de Holteby & r. d. R. p. h.	3

Adhuc de tenentibus de medietate de domino Rege ultra Usam in Civitate Eboracense

Ultra Usam

143. Willelmus de Bramham tenet unum toftum de Ada filio Johannis Lamberd & r. d. R. p. h.	I
144. Elena Gra tenet unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
145. Willelmus Bonmarchaund unum toftum de Henrico filio Astini & r. d. R. p. h.	I
146. Uxor Thome de Usegate unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
147. Adam de Hoperton unum toftum de Elena filia Hugonis Rugecock	
148. Alanus Fox unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
149. Vicarii Sancti Petri unum toftum de Luca Carnifex & r. d. R. p. h.	I
150. Ricardus de Lenaton' unum toftum de Margaria filia Richeman & r. d. R. p. h.	I
151. Johannes Grutemon' unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
152. Walterus de Brethan unum toftum de Nicholao Orgeri & r. d. R. p. h.	I
153. Alanus Fox unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
154. Petrus Morivall unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
155. Willelmus Skirlock unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
156. Henricus Bell unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
157. Alanus Fox unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
158. Johannes Capellanus unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	3
159. Thomas de Pontefracto unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
160. Robertus Gra unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	3
161. Willelmus Tanckard unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2

(m 5)

162. Johannes le Blounth tenet unum toftum de Petro de Moriwall & r. d. R. p. h.	4
163. Emma le Salter unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	4
164. Nicholaus le Blounth unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
165. Johannes de Conigston' unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
166. Petrus de Alta Ripa unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
167. Hugo de Seleby unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	4
168. Jurdanus de Beylly unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
169. Willelmus de Galeway unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
170. Nicholaus de Clifton' unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
171. Henricus de Ridale unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2

(m 5 contd)

172.	Margaria de Akum unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	d.
173.	Petrus de Appilby unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
174.	Thomas de Graham unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
175.	Johannes de Mikelgate unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
176.	Abbas de Fontibus tenet duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
177.	Rogerus Base unum toftum de Magistro de Sancto Roberto & r. d. R. p. h.	I
178.	Alicia de Stavelay unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
179.	Willelmus de Clerewaus unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
180.	Johannes Hawys tenet unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
181.	Johannes de Uggethorp unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
182.	Robertus de Yolton' unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	4
183.	Johannes de Uggethorp unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
184.	Godefridus Cissor unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
185.	Hugo le Fuster unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
186.	Willelmus de H(o?)ton unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
187.	Willelmus Sauvage unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	3½
188.	Johannes de Graham unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	3½
189.	Laurentius de Bouthom unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
190.	Alicia de Donewyce unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
191.	Priorissa de Sinigthwayth tenet duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
192.	Willelmus Goudibus(?) unum toftum de Priore Sancte Trinitatis & r. d. R. p. h.	5
193.	Ricardus de Rufford unum toftum de Vicariis Sancti Petri & r. d. R. p. h.	I
194.	Willelmus Dorant(?) unum toftum de Priore Sancte Trinitatis & r. d. R. p. h.	2
195.	Willelmus de Dunsford unum toftum de Vicariis Beati Petri & r. d. R. p. h.	I
196.	Radulfus le Porter unum toftum de Vicariis Beati Petri & r. d. R. p. h.	I
197.	Johannes del How unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
198.	Willelmus de Scalingburn' unum toftum de Stephano Ython & r. d. R. p. h.	2
199.	Johannes le Western unum toftum de feodo Sancte Trinitatis & r. d. R. p. h.	I
200.	Walterus le Marescall unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
201.	Willelmus le Belwryth tenet duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	3
202.	Wilhelmus le Agister unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	3
203.	Johannes de Conigston unum toftum de Priore Sancte Trinitatis & r. d. R. p. h.	I
204.	Nicholaus le Blounth unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
205.	Johannes de Conigston unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
206.	Abbas de Kirkestall unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
207.	Willelmus Dorant tenet duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
208.	Johannes de Conigston' unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
209.	Abbas de Fornays tenet unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	¼
210.	Johannes filius Christiani unum toftum	I

(m. 6)

211.	Ricardus de Wapelington' unum toftum de Roberto de Ellerton' & r. d. R. p. h.	2
212.	Willelmus Sperry unum toftum de heredibus Thome Brinkelow & r. d. R. p. h.	I
213.	Adam de Sancto Albano unum toftum de heredibus Thome de Sancto Leonardo & r. d. R. p. h.	I
214.	Robertus de Cotum unum toftum de Roberto de Mikelgate & r. d. R. p. h.	I
215.	Walterus Child de Fulford unum toftum de Henrico de Spofford & r. d. R. p. h.	2
216.	Thomas de Spofford unum toftum de Nicholao(?) de Mundewyle & r. d. R. p. h.	I
217.	Ricardus de Conigston' unum toftum de Daniell' Textore & r. d. R. p. h.	I
218.	Alexander Pryd unum toftum de Priore Sancti Andree & r. d. R. p. h.	2
219.	Mariota Dod unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
220.	Henricus de Spofford' de Margarie de Muro & r. d. R. p. h.	2
221.	Walterus de Braythan unum toftum de Nicholao Dod & r. d. R. p. h.	2
222.	Stephanus Wyles unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
223.	Walterus de Sutton' tenet duo tofta de Avicia de Spofford & r. d. R. p. h.	4
224.	Thomas Kayck tenet duo tofta de Willelmo Layeman & r. d. R. p. h.	4
225.	Gilbertus Modi unum toftum de heredibus Willelmi le Corvayser & r. d. R. p. h.	2
226.	Johannes de Holteby unum toftum de Roberto de Wython' & r. d. R. p. h.	I
227.	Thomas le Blounth unum toftum de Johanne le Blounth & r. d. R. p. h.	2
228.	Stephanus le Tueler tenet quatuor tofta de Johanne Stybayn & r. d. R. p. h.	4
229.	Henricus de Spofford aurifaber unum toftum de Johanne Stybayn & r. d. R. p. h.	I
230.	Johannes de Conigston' unum toftum de heredibus Roberti de Wython' & r. d. R. p. h.	2
231.	Vincencius Orger tenet duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	3
232.	Stephanus le Tueler unum toftum de Johanne Stybayn & r. d. R. p. h.	2
233.	Vincencius Orger unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
234.	Walterus de Grimeston' unum toftum de Reginaldi de Wilmerlay & r. d. R. p. h.	I
235.	Thomas Nayth unum toftum de Johanne de Overton & r. d. R. p. h.	2
236.	Galfridus de Bouthom unum toftum de Johanne le Blounth & r. d. R. p. h.	4
237.	Petrus de Haxingholm tenet duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	4
238.	Benedictus Tannator unum toftum de Simone de Clerewaus & r. d. R. p. h.	2

(m. 6 contd.)

239.	Leticia quondam uxor Thome de Helperby unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	d.
240.	Johannes Attegatend unum toftum de Abbate Sancte Marie & r. d. R. p. h.	2
241.	Thomas de Munketon' unum toftum de Benedicto Tannatore & r. d. R. p. h.	2
242.	Johannes de Conigston duo tofta de Johanne Dumberle & r. d. R. p. h.	I
243.	Margaria Herband unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
244.	Johannes Rayner unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
245.	Emma Sarozin unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
246.	Johannes de Conigston' unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
247.	Margaria de Muro unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
248.	Johannes de Clerewaus unum toftum de Willelmo de Clayth & r. d. R. p. h.	I
		2
<i>Extra Barram</i>		
249.	Rogerus de Driffeld unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
250.	Ricardus le Mayer unum toftum de Priorissa Sancti Clementis & r. d. R. p. h.	2
251.	Willelmus Rayner unum toftum de eadem Priorissa & r. d. R. p. h.	2
252.	Alicia le Monner unum toftum de Johanne le Blounth & r. d. R. p. h.	2
253.	Thomas Amory unum toftum de eodem & r. d. R. p. h.	2
254.	Johannes filius Maw unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
255.	Petrus de Haxingholm unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
256.	Abbas de Sancta Agatha unum toftum & r. p. h.	2
257.	Willelmus Dorant unum toftum de Johanne filio Christiani & r. p. h.	4
258.	Petrus de Haxingholm' tria tofta unum de Nicholao de Clerewaus. Et duo de Philippo le Carter de Beverlaco & r. p. h.	2
259.	Margaria de Fulford unum toftum & r. p. h.	6
260.	Ricardus de Skipton' unum toftum de Nicholao de Northefolck & r. p. h.	2
261.	Idem Ricardus unum toftum de Nicholao de Langeton' & r. p. h.	I
262.	Willelmus de Scalingburn' unum toftum & r. p. h.	I
263.	Priorissa Sancti Clementis unum toftum & r. p. h.	I
264.	Alicia de Anyas unum toftum & r. p. h.	I
265.	Ingeramus le Tayllur unum toftum & r. p. h.	I
266.	Johannes le Mason unum toftum & r. p. h.	I
267.	Willelmus Chicheloch unum toftum & r. p. h.	I
268.	Willelmus Dorant duo tofta de Priorissa Sancti Clementis & r. p. h.	I
269.	Priorissa Sancti Clementis unum toftum & r. p. h.	2
270.	Abbas de Fornays unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
271.	Johannes de Conigston' tenet quatuor tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
		4
<i>Skeldergate</i>		
272.	Jurdanus le Vayder' tenet unum toftum de Stephano Wyles & r. d. R. p. h.	2
273.	Willelmus Fader tenet unum toftum de Johanne Abot & r. d. R. p. h.	2
274.	Georgius le Flemang' unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
275.	Willelmus le Wayder unum toftum de Georgio le Flemang & r. d. R. p. h.	2
276.	Johannes filius Willelmi Molle unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
277.	Willelmus de Skauceby unum toftum & r. d. R.	2
278.	Bartholomeus de Caster unum toftum & r. d. R.	2
279.	Stephanus le Tyuler unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
280.	Robertus de Wyteby unum toftum de Priore de Gisburn & r. d. R. p. h.	2
281.	Willelmus Skipwryth unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
282.	Alicia le Bakester unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
283.	Stephanus Wiles unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
284.	Willelmus Brislaunce unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
285.	Isabella le Graunt unum toftem & r. d. R. p. h.	2
286.	Michaelis le Schipwriyth unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
287.	Nigellus de Amkotes duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
288.	Serlo de Driffeld unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	3
289.	Rogerus de Schirburn' duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	I
290.	Bartholomeus de Novo Castro unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
291.	Robertus de Conigthua unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
292.	Idem Robertus tenet aliud toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
293.	Willelmus de Carleton' quatuor tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
294.	Johannes Basy unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	8
295.	Robertus de Wyteby unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
296.	Emma le Cornayker unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
297.	Magister Nicholaus de Skeldergate unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
298.	Prior de Ponte fracto unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
299.	Ricardus de Ellerton' unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
300.	Willelmus de Cawod unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	I
301.	Rogerus Basy tenet quatuor tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	I
302.	(Nicholaus de Sancto Nicholao <i>deleted</i>) Symon Tesseman (<i>interlined</i>) quatuor tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	3
		5

(m. 6 *contd.*)

	<i>d.</i>
303. Thomas de Burton' tenet duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
304. Mabilla del Dike unum toftum de heredibus Roberti Bustard & r. d. R. p. h.	2
305. Willelmus Fader unum toftum de Roberto Dufty & r. d. R. p. h.	1
306. Radulfus de Burton' unum toftum de Johanne de Sutton & r. d. R.	1
307. Johannes de Holteby unum toftum de Johanne Jope & r. d. R. p. h.	1
308. Adam de Wistowe unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
309. Ricardus le Specer unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
310. Elena Findelove unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
311. Agnes le Quiltemaker unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
312. Rogerus de Thornhover unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
313. Robertus de Hoton unum toftum de Thome de Muro & r. d. R. p. h.	2
314. Thomas Cerf unum toftum r. d. R. p. h.	2
315. Alicia de Staveley unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
316. Constantia Sampson unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
317. Radulfus de Grimston unum toftum de Ricardo Skort & r. d. R. p. h.	2
318. Ricardus Skort tenet octo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	10
319. Stephanus Wiles tenet duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	3

Lounlithgate

320. Thomas Baudewyn tenet quatuor tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	3
321. Albreda de Mubray unum toftum & r. d. R.	1
322. Alicia de Bugthorp unum toftum & r. d. R.	2
323. Baldewynus le Pulter unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
324. Alicia de Crayke tenet tria tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	6
325. Stephanus Wiles duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
326. Magister Willelmus de Skeldergate tenet duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
327. Heres Domini Alani de Walkingham unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	6
328. Willelmus de Spotforthe unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
329. Heres Alani de Walkingham tenet xiiij tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	23
330. Idem tenet vij tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	7
331. Idem tenet unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
332. Ricardus de Feryby tenet duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
333. Thomas le Hayrester unum toftum de Albreda de Mubray & r. d. R. p. h.	1
334. Henricus de Lindesay unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2

(mm. 7 & 1)

Littelgate

335. Walterus le Dekyn tenet duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	4
336. Stephanus Wiles duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
337. Margareta de Fulforthe unum toftum de domino Rege & r. p. h.	2
338. Willelmus de Skotherskelfe unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
339. Ricardus de Feringesby clericus unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
340. Elyas Clericus de Neuton' duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
341. Stephanus Wyles unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
342. Rogerus Mortimer unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
(Start of m. 1)	
343. Prior de Bolton unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
344. Willelmus Yustace unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
345. Stephanus Wiles unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
346. Robertus Trenchemer unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
347. Willelmus de Spotforthe unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
348. Adam Verdenel unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
349. Petrus le Lorymer unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
350. Hugo filius Hugonis Tannatoris unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	4
351. Rogerus de Driffeld unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
352. Albreda de Mubray unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1

Feltergayl

353. Thomas Faber unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	4
354. Rogerus de Driffeld unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
355. Thomas Grunt unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
356. Stephanus filius Yvonis unum toftum & r. d. R.	1
357. Rogerus de Schirbur(n?) unum toftum & r. d. R.	2
358. Raulfus Wiles unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
359. Uxor Radulfi de Kircelington unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
360. Nicholaus de Clerwaus unum toftum & r. d. R.	1
361. Matheus Sampson unum toftum & r. d. R.	1
362. Johannes Hawys unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1

(mm 7 & 1)

d.

<i>Besingate</i>	
363. Gilbertus Mody unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
364. Ricardus de Feryby unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
365. Thomas le Sponer unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
366. Michaelis le Schipwryth' unum toftum & r. d. R.	1
367. Jordanus de Graham unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
368. Ricardus le Calfhird unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
369. Stephanus Wiles unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
370. Gilbertus Mody duo tofta & r. d. R. p. h.	2
371. Willelmus de Skotherskelfe unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
372. Ricardus le Calfhird' unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	1
373. Capellanus celebrans ad altare in Creptis unum toftum & r. d. R. p. h.	2
Summa 142 s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.	

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my thanks for help and advice provided by Dr. R. M. Butler, Mrs. R. J. Green, Dr. J. H. Harvey, Dr. P. R. Hyams, Professor G. H. Martin and Mrs. J. Percy.

AN EXCAVATION AT CHAPEL GARTH, BOLTON, FANGFOSS, HUMBERSIDE

BY GLYN COPPACK

Summary Three areas were examined and the earthworks of Chapel Garth were identified as the southern portion of the medieval township of Bolton. The chapel which was located and excavated had three phases of construction, the earliest dating from the late eleventh century, and was demolished in the late sixteenth century. Six other buildings were excavated, producing a sequence of occupation from the early fourteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two of the latest buildings had been destroyed by fire at about the time the surrounding area was being enclosed. The final building was a small barn or byre set on the west side of the field.

1. INTRODUCTION

The township of Bolton lies on the eastern edge of the Vale of York, 16.70 km east of York, on the road between Pocklington and Stamford Bridge. The village lies within the ecclesiastical parish of Bishop Wilton and the civil parish of Fangfoss, which is 1.25 km to the north of Bolton. To the south of the village two fields known as Hall Garth and Chapel Garth contain impressive earthworks (Fig. 1). In February 1973, notice was given of an intention to level these for ploughing. Both were scheduled as ancient monuments.¹ After discussions with the Department of the Environment, the landowner, Mr. T. J. Sampson, agreed to preserve the fine moated site and crofts in Hall Garth, and the Department undertook to excavate Chapel Garth (SE 773522) before levelling.²

Bolton lies 4 km to the west of the Yorkshire Wolds. Here the underlying deposit is Keuper marl, covered by layers of warp and lacustrine clays. Within the area of Chapel Garth the clays were overlaid by a layer of clean, pale yellow sand with patches of iron-panning. Above the clean sand, deposits of darker brown blown sand made up the greater part of the archaeological deposits. Locally there is no building stone; chalk and flint were obtainable from the Wolds, and oolitic limestone was available in the vicinity of Market Weighton, and from Bulmer and North Grimston.

Chapel Garth is situated at the southern end of the original village of Bolton (Fig. 1), bounded on the west by the Pocklington–Stamford Bridge road, and on the south by the road to Yapham and Bishop Wilton, both of which are medieval road-lines. The field falls slightly from south to north, towards the Spital Beck, and averages 23 m above sea level. At the eastern end of Chapel Garth is the headland of the east field. Beyond this there are slight traces of ridge and furrow. The extent of the open fields can no longer be traced, as deep ploughing and drifting sand have all but obliterated them. On the north, Chapel Garth is separated from the modern village by a ploughed field which contains the remains of several crofts. House platforms can be traced on the surface and there is medieval pottery in the plough soil.

A close examination of the earthworks of Chapel Garth (Fig. 2) showed an apparent line of crofts along the east side of the Pocklington road, indicated by continuous raised platforms. A well-defined hollow-way ran from the north-west corner of the field to the south-

¹ Scheduled as Yorkshire 403(a) and 403(b).

² Contributors are acknowledged in the text. Figs. 32–5 are by J. Thorn; all other illustrations are by the author. The text was read in draft by Professor M. W. Barley, R. M. Butler and J. G. Hurst who made many useful comments; any errors remaining are the responsibility of the writer. I should like to thank the following for their assistance: T. J. Sampson, who gave permission for the excavation; P. V. Addyman and the staff of the York Archaeological Trust; D. Willey, of the Department of the Environment, York Office; the staff of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory; all contributors to this report; and to Miss N. Williams, my then research assistant who was responsible for much of the background work to this report.



FIG. 1. Showing the earthworks of Hall Garth and Chapel Garth in relation to the present village of Bolton.

east corner, joining the Pocklington and Bishop Wilton roads. To the north of this roadway was the east field headland, and at its east end was a large, open area, sunk below the general level of the field and occupied by a pond. This lay at the junction of the hollow-way and the Bishop Wilton road, and had the general appearance of a village green. However, this is unlikely so far from the centre of the township and it was probably a stockyard. There were two obvious house-sites on the eastern part of the hollow-way, both on the south side. Between them was a large hollow, separated from the roadway by a shallow bank, which represented a fold-yard, associated with the prominent house-platform on its eastern side.

No earthworks or standing masonry in Chapel Garth suggested the position of the chapel presumed to lie within its limits although house-platforms could be readily identified. Sand drifting from the surrounding fields had rounded the profiles of many features, and only the most obvious remained recognisable. The areas chosen for excavation were selected after a fluxgate gradiometer survey.

The fine earthworks of Hall Garth are also worth describing (Fig. 1). Hall Garth is separated from Chapel Garth by a wide, shallow hollow which carries the Pocklington road. The road must always have occupied this hollow, which is much wider than the

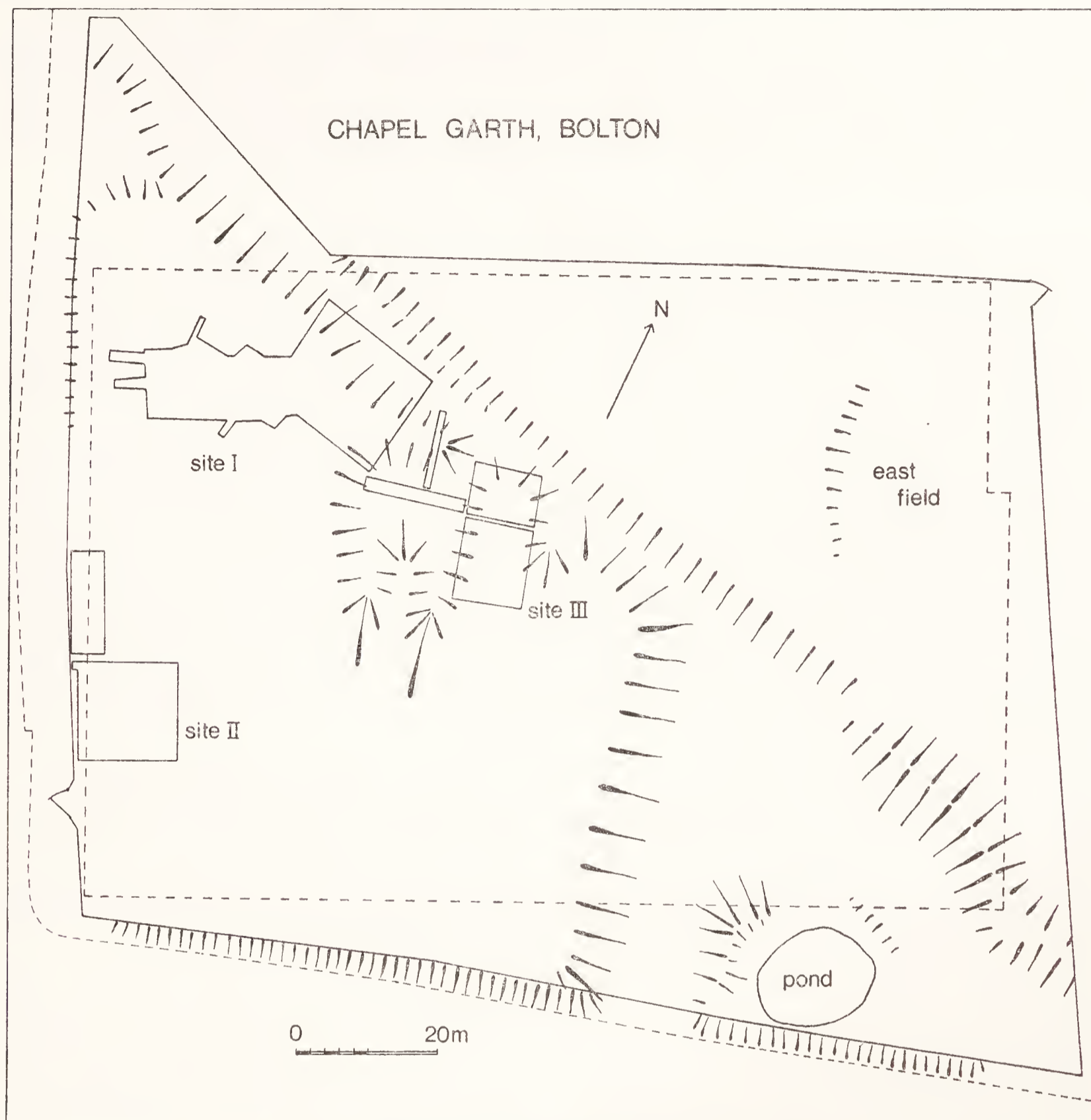


FIG. 2. Chapel Garth, showing the areas excavated.

present metallised surface. Within Hall Garth, the most obvious feature is a large and well preserved moated site of Le Patourel type A5c³ with water-filled ditches at least 1.5 m deep, and from 10.7 m to 12.2 m wide, enclosing an island 91.5 m by 42 m. There is an outer bank 5 m wide and 1 m high. This bank runs all round the moat, but is eroded in places and ploughed down on the west side. Surface indications suggest buildings around a courtyard on the island, with an entry on the north side. The open arm of the moat encloses an area approximately 91.5 m by 30.5 m which does not appear to contain buildings. A channel leads into the south-east corner of the moat.

The moated site appears to overlie the boundary ditches of a series of crofts along the west side of the Pocklington road, with prominent platforms set back from the roadside. When a house was built over the northernmost platform in 1971, substantial traces of occupation were noticed, and pottery from a rubbish pit recovered.⁴

No buildings in the present village were built before the beginning of the nineteenth

³ H. E. J. le Patourel, *The Moated Sites of Yorkshire*, Soc. Med. Archaeol. Monograph 5 (1973), p. 4. See also p. 110.

⁴ Now in the possession of Mr. R. Carr of Bolton. See below p. 41-2.

century, and it is not possible to tell how far the medieval village extended. The earliest buildings today lie towards the south of the village, and it is clear that the nineteenth-century village was made up of a series of farms with open spaces between them. The infilling is more recent. It is hardly likely that the medieval village extended as far to the north as the present village, though it did originally reach much further to the south.

2. DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

In the Domesday survey of 1086, Bolton was described as a berewick of four and a half carucates, part of the Archbishop of York's manor of Bishop Wilton. Carle, one of the late King's thegns, held one carucate of land from the King in Bolton and had one plough and two acres of meadow. There was no church or priest.⁵ Bolton remained a part of the manor of Bishop Wilton until it was alienated by Archbishop Walter de Gray to his nephew Ralph de Micklefield de Birkin in 1287, when it became a manor in its own right.⁶

In 1315, Robert de Boulton was named as the lord of Bolton.⁷ He was one of the two members from Yorkshire in the Parliament of 1305–6, and it is likely that he held Bolton then. The manor had passed to Roger de Fulthorpe by 1372, when he was recorded as holding Bolton and the adjoining manors of Yapham and Gowthorpe.⁸ An *Inquisition Post Mortem* of 1389–90 gives Thomas de Bolton as the last holder of the manor, which passed through his daughter Mary to her husband, William de Lockton, and was ultimately forfeit to the crown.⁹ The lordship is unknown from this date until 1546, when Roger Sotheby held half of the manor.¹⁰ In the early seventeenth century, the village was held by the Dolman family.¹¹ In 1650, Richard Darley held at least part of the manor, the privy tithe of which was worth £4.¹²

The earliest mention of the chapel comes in a Chantry Survey of 1548. The Chantry of Saint James in Bolton was then recorded thus: There is no incumbent to the same belonging. Havyng no foundacion but begon of the benevolence of the parochians of the sayd town of Bolton; having there often tymes great waters, that they in no wyse can come to the said parysshe church (of Bishop Wilton), and when they be dysposed they hyre a pryste to syng in the sayd chapell. Beyng nether charged with fyrst frutes nor tenthes.

The same chauntey is dystaunt from the sayd parysshe church ij myles and more. The necessitie thereof is that there is great waters oftentimes, that in no wyse they can come to the sayd parysshe church. There is no landes, ten. solde ne alienatyed sythe the iiij day of February anno regis Henrici viij^{vi} xxvij^{mo}.

Goodes, ornamentes, and plate perteynyng to the sayd chauntery, as apperyth by inventorye, that is to say, goodes valued at vs vjd, plate, xxxijs.

First, certen landes and ten., sett, lyeng, and beyng at Bolton afforeseyd, perteynyng to the sayd chaunterye, in the tenure of divers persons, that is to say, one cottage in the tenure of William Graggell of Bolton, payng by yere iijs; two oxgang of lande in the tenure of Richard Monke and William Vessey, in Bolton aforeseyd, vjs. In all, xs. Some of the sayd chauntery Xs qui remanent.¹³

There was no mention of the chapel in 1650, when it was suggested that the township should be combined with the parish of Fangfoss.¹⁴ Nor was there any mention in the Archbishop's visitation returns for 1743 or 1764. In 1877, Robert Taylor noted that there

⁵ For a review of the documentary evidence, see K. Allison ed: *V.C.H., East Riding III*, pp. 164, 168–9.

⁶ Information supplied by Mrs. H. E. J. le Patourel.

⁷ *op. cit.* in note 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Feet of Fines 1625/26.

¹² 1650 Parliamentary survey of benefices; *Trans. East Riding Antiquarian Soc.* 2 (1894) p. 47.

¹³ *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys*, 1548, in *Surtees Soc.*, 102 (1895) No. 38, pp. 239–40.

¹⁴ As note 12.

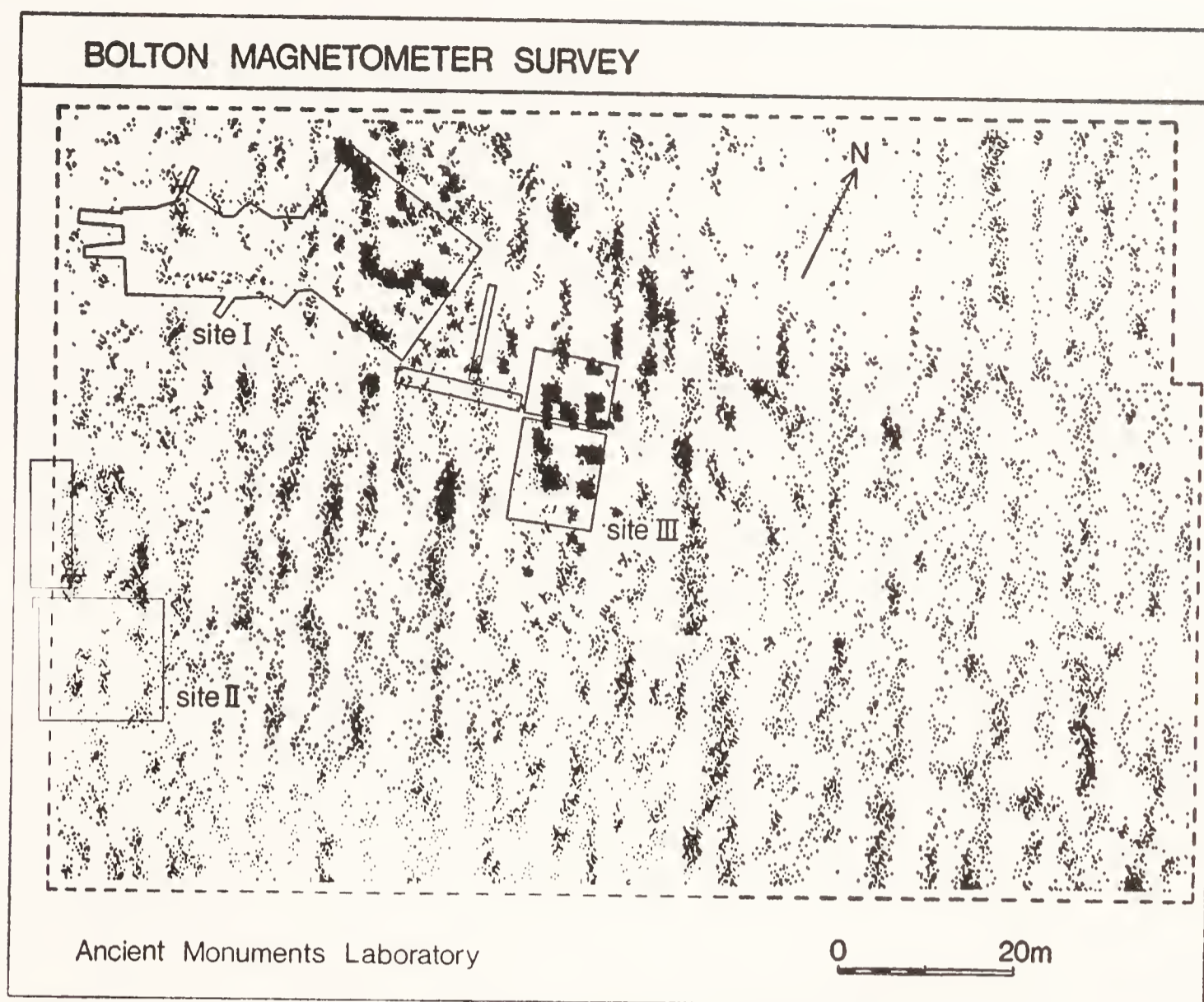


FIG. 3. Geophysical survey of Chapel Garth.

had been a chapel of ease at Bolton, but that it no longer existed at the period of the Commonwealth, when the village had been united with Fangfoss for a short period.¹⁵

3. THE EXCAVATION

A Fluxgate gradiometer survey was carried out by the Ancient Monuments Laboratory of the Department of the Environment in October 1973. Two major areas of anomaly were recorded (Fig. 3) near Sites I and III, the line of the hollow-way was clearly shown, and a general spread of occupation debris was suggested along the east side of the Pocklington road. However, there was no obvious sign of the Chapel of St. James which was thought to lie in Chapel Garth. Excavation showed that it did lie within the field, but that the nature of the subsoil obscured areas of magnetic anomaly. Only areas of intense burning which lay directly below the turf on Sites I and III were clearly shown.

Three sites were chosen, based on a study of earthworks in the field and the results of the geophysical survey. The excavation, directed by the writer, took place in wintry conditions from 28 October to 23 December 1973. Site I was supervised by Richard Williams, Site II by Roger Smith, and Site III by Michael Shaw. The sites were planned by Kathryn Hardy, Graham Black and Paul Courtney, and the finds processed by Joan Johannassen and Elizabeth Platts.

SITE I

THE CHAPEL (Fig. 4)

The area laid out along the south side of the hollow-way to examine the area of high magnetic anomaly and possible house-site revealed the north-east corner of a masonry

¹⁵ 1877 Diocesan Visitation Returns, information from D. Neave.

building which had been demolished to its footings. A length of the east wall was also revealed, and two buttresses suggested that this might be the eastern end of the chapel. A series of hand-dug trial trenches used to define the limits of the building revealed a spread of rubble, interpreted as the demolition level of the building, and likely to cover its full extent. This rubble was stripped mechanically and cleaned by hand. As the building was not discovered until late in the excavation, it was not possible to consider total excavation. Both the area inside and outside the chapel was excavated in 'chequer-board' fashion, providing a longitudinal and several transverse sections. Approximately half the building was fully excavated, the remainder being stripped to the level of surviving footings or robber trenches. In this way all major features were recorded, but some minor detail may have been lost. The west end of the building was not covered by destruction debris as the area had been dug away in the seventeenth century, and was not mechanically excavated. Two further trial trenches were dug on the last day of the excavation, when the west wall was located and its relationship to the rest of the building was clearly demonstrated.

Phase 1:

In its earliest phase, the chapel was of single-cell type measuring 13.60 m by 6.20 m, built directly onto a sterile deposit of light brown sand. Only a few stones of the south wall remained *in situ*. The east wall had been totally removed when the chapel was extended eastwards, and the north wall was rebuilt from its foundations at the same time. A seventeenth-century disturbance removed all but the slightest traces of the west wall.

Sufficient remained to trace the outline of the original building. The foundations consisted of a layer of pitched blocks of oolitic limestone laid in trenches dug into windblown sand. The footings of the north and south walls were 0.80 m wide; the east and west walls 1 m wide. The remaining footings of the south wall indicated that the stone had been laid without mortar or clay bedding. Quantities of decayed mortar and gravel in the filling of the robber trenches apparently came from the upper part of the walls. A few sherds of pottery, some window glass, and a number of iron nails were recovered from the robbing of the south and west walls. The glass and nails were presumably derived from the building.

Associated with the first chapel was a floor-like deposit of light green clay and brown mortar, running up to the inside edge of the north wall and stopping at the robber trench of the east wall. As this was below the level of the top of the footings, it is unlikely to be a floor, but must represent either the level from which the building was constructed or packing for a floor. In the area excavated within this phase of the chapel, no major features cut through this clay and mortar level. This should indicate that there were no burials inside the chapel at this stage.

Phase 2:

The chapel was extended eastwards by 7 m in the second half of the twelfth century, with footings of pitched oolitic limestone and water-worn boulders set in a matrix of clay and gravel. The north wall of the first chapel was rebuilt; the construction trench of the new wall removing all traces of its predecessor. Larger stones were used at this period, but the thickness of the side walls was not altered. Only the robber trenches of the new east and south walls were found, but there were clear indications that the north-east and south-east corners had been strengthened with shallow clasping buttresses. The thickness of the new east wall, measured from its robber trench, was 0.80 m, the same as the north and south walls of the chapel.

Within the extended chapel a patchy deposit of red clay appeared to be the remains of under-floor packing, and lay above the light brown sand. At the west end of the chapel, this deposit sealed a layer of light brown sand which lay over the green clay 'floor'. A single post-hole dug through the red clay may have been part of the scaffolding used in the extension. Sealed by the red clay layer within the eastern extension was a small lead-smelting

hearth, which still contained a mass of fused lead, as well as two nails. Several fragments of window-came were still recognisable, and so the hearth must have been used to melt down old scrap as well as to smelt afresh. In this case, it is most likely that it is associated with the second phase of building, also indicating a possibility that the first chapel was at least partly glazed.

A grave (Grave I) was cut through the red clay deposit, to a depth of 1.5 m below the surface of the clay; its dark brown sandy filling with many small lumps of red clay could clearly be seen against the natural sand. The burial, of a woman aged 35–40, lay extended, on the natural sand, with a pillow surviving as a dark grey mass below the skull. There were no nails or other signs of a coffin, and the burial was in poor condition. In spite of this, the position of the grave before and to the right of the altar, would suggest a person of rank.

Phase 3:

In the fourteenth century, the chapel was extended eastwards by a further 3.20 m to give a length of 23.8 m. The new work was of a quite different character. Whereas the footings of the earlier building were only two stones deep, the Phase 3 footings were sunk to a depth of 0.80 m and had up to six courses. The stone was laid and not pitched. The earlier walls had been built in foundation trenches which were wider than the stonework they received, but in Phase 3 the stones were driven into the sides of the foundation trenches, which could no longer be identified. The core of the walling was made up of small limestone rubble, mortared in places. The extension was butted up against the east face of the Phase 2 clasping buttresses, and was poorly executed and out of square with the earlier east wall. The reason for this extension is clear. A separate chancel was planned, divided by a screen from the nave. The stone base of this screen had been totally removed, leaving a shallow trench 0.40 m wide, 4 m from the inside face of the new east wall. A pair of deep inset buttresses were placed against the outer face of the new east wall 0.80 m from the north and south angles. Below the chancel floor, a triangular drain indicated a piscina.

Associated with this rebuilding was a raising of the floor level within the chapel. Dark grey sandy soil containing a few fragments of limestone was laid over the red clay deposit of Phase 2. Mixed with this were nails, iron objects, window glass and lead comes presumably derived from the Phase 2 structure. Within the chancel, a patch of pitched limestone rubble against the east wall was all that remained of the floor.

A second burial (Grave II) must be associated with this phase. The grave lay immediately outside the south wall of the extended Phase 2 chapel, but its depth and the good condition of the skeleton, that of a man of about 20–30, would suggest that it dated to the later years of the chapel's use.

The outline of a wedge-shaped coffin could still be traced as a soil-stain, or from the position of nails, but the shallow burial had been disturbed before excavation and the skull removed. The area to the south of the chapel was not examined, but several fragments of human bone, scraps of pottery, and metal objects all found within the apparently natural sand would suggest extensive disturbance, the most likely cause being a small cemetery.

Demolition:

The chapel was included in the general dissolution of chantries in 1548–50, and demolition began at this period. Pottery found amongst the general destruction debris ranged in date from the fifteenth century to the late seventeenth century, and it is obvious that the chapel was demolished over a long period. Two ashlar blocks and a voussoir had been reused in Building 6. There is no building stone available locally and the ruins of the chapel served as a quarry. Stone robbing reduced the building to its footings. Even the moulded stones, and at the west end of the building, the rubble footings were removed.

The interior of the chapel was covered with debris thrown up from the robbing of the footings, and contained a great amount of material derived from the structure. Quantities

of window glass and lead came were scattered throughout the rubble, and iron nails, presumably from the roof and internal fittings, were found throughout the building. The floor had been removed, but as no fragments of tile were found, it is not likely to have been tiled. During the demolition of the chapel, a large, irregular pit was dug into the west end of the building, and was refilled with rubble, broken ashlar blocks, clay from the Phase 2 floor levelling, and quantities of iron slag. A second pit was then dug to the east of the first, just cutting its filling. A fire had been lit in the bottom of this pit and it had then been refilled with the material dug from it.

By the late seventeenth century, there was no trace of the chapel above ground level. The robber trenches were left to fill up with wind-blown sand, and the site became quite level and featureless.

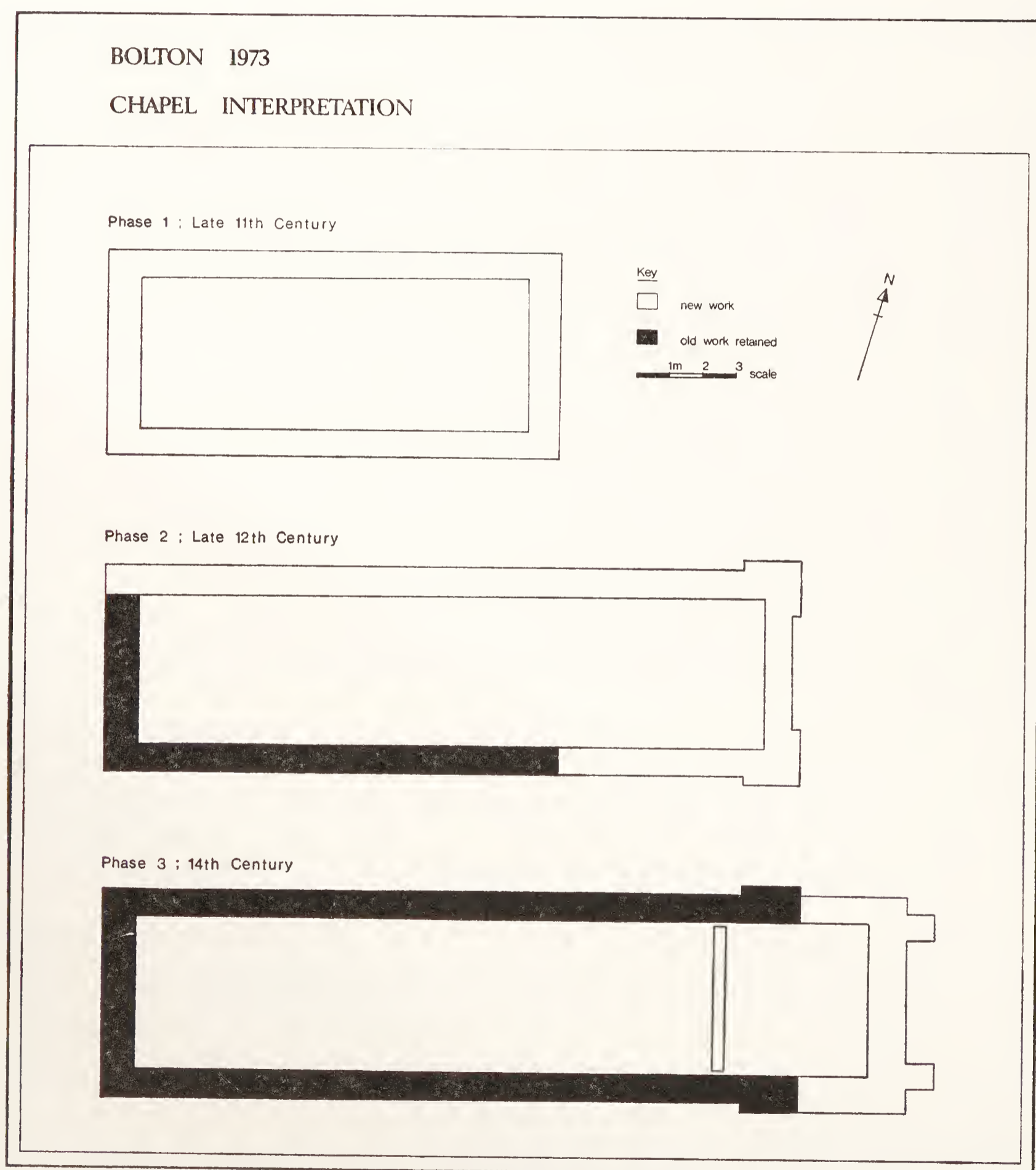


FIG. 4. Chapel, suggested development.

Discussion:

There is no evidence to suggest a church or chapel at Bolton before 1086, though it is quite likely that the first chapel was built not long after this date. Dr. Eric Gee has noted a series of single-cell churches in and around York, and has tabulated their dimensions.¹⁶ They range in length from 6.98 m to 17.78 m and in width from 3.66 m to 7.88 m with walls 0.61 m to 0.91 m thick.¹⁷ To these can be added the first chapel at Bolton, measuring 13.60 m by 6.20 m, with walls 0.80 m to 1 m thick. Dr. Gee dates these churches from the conquest to the early part of the twelfth century, a date range which is quite acceptable at Bolton. From the robber trench of the south wall of the chapel at its western end, a single sherd of reduced, hand-made, shell-tempered ware was recovered. From its position on the floor of the trench, it may well have been deposited during construction. Shelly wares of this type are generally thought to pre-date the early twelfth century, and a date at the end of the eleventh century would not be unacceptable.¹⁸ The first chapel is best seen as a manorial chapel, set up by a leading inhabitant, or even by the parishioners generally, as often happened in secondary settlements. The dedication to St. James suggests a late foundation in an outlying settlement, perhaps of the tenth or eleventh century, and would fit the known situation at Bolton.

The second phase of building can be dated reasonably closely on architectural grounds. The new east end was strengthened with clasping buttresses, a type which continues in vogue in Yorkshire up to the end of the twelfth century, with their continued use at Byland Abbey into the early years of the thirteenth century,¹⁹ and at Wharham Percy even later still.²⁰ A fragment of window reveal with three-quarter round moulding, found within the chapel, may belong to this phase, and fits well with a date in the late twelfth century. The extension of the chapel may simply reflect the prosperity of the township. Burial I was clearly associated with this phase of the chapel, and was the only apparent burial within the building. One would not normally expect to find burials within a manorial chapel, and this one, buried just before and to the right of the altar may just predate the final development of the building.

The final phase is dated both architecturally, and from associated pottery to the first half of the fourteenth century. The most significant aspect of the rebuilt chapel is the change in plan to provide a distinct chancel, and this may indicate a change in status. The unexcavated cemetery to the south would also appear to belong to this phase. Bolton became a manor in its own right in the late thirteenth century, and it is tempting to associate the rebuilding of the chapel with the construction of the seigniorial moat to the west. A date early in the fourteenth century would connect this with Robert de Boulton. The crofts on Site II were established on virgin land at approximately the same time, and there is a strong possibility that the chapel was established as a chantry at this time, and that the crofts represented its endowment.²¹

BUILDINGS 1 and 2 (Figs. 5 and 6)

A large area of magnetic anomaly south of the hollow-way and east of the chapel, suggested the position of a substantial building (Fig. 3), and it was originally intended to excavate this area fully. However only sufficient work was done to establish that there were

¹⁶ In: R.C.H.M., *An Inventory of Historical Monuments in the City of York, Vol. III, South-West of the Ouse* (1972) pp. xliii–xliv.

¹⁷ All measurements have been converted from imperial to metric values.

¹⁸ Information from J. G. Hurst. It would be unwise to put too much faith in this single sherd, especially considering its context.

¹⁹ Sir C. Peers: *Byland Abbey* (1969), pp. 5–6 and plan.

²⁰ The clasping buttress on the north aisle chapel at Wharham Percy in phase VIII is dated to the late thirteenth century. *Med. Archaeol.* 17, (1973), p. 160, Fig. 58.

²¹ I am indebted to R. Gilyard-Beer, Professor M. W. Barley, and Mrs. D. M. Owen for their helpful advice on the development of the chapel.

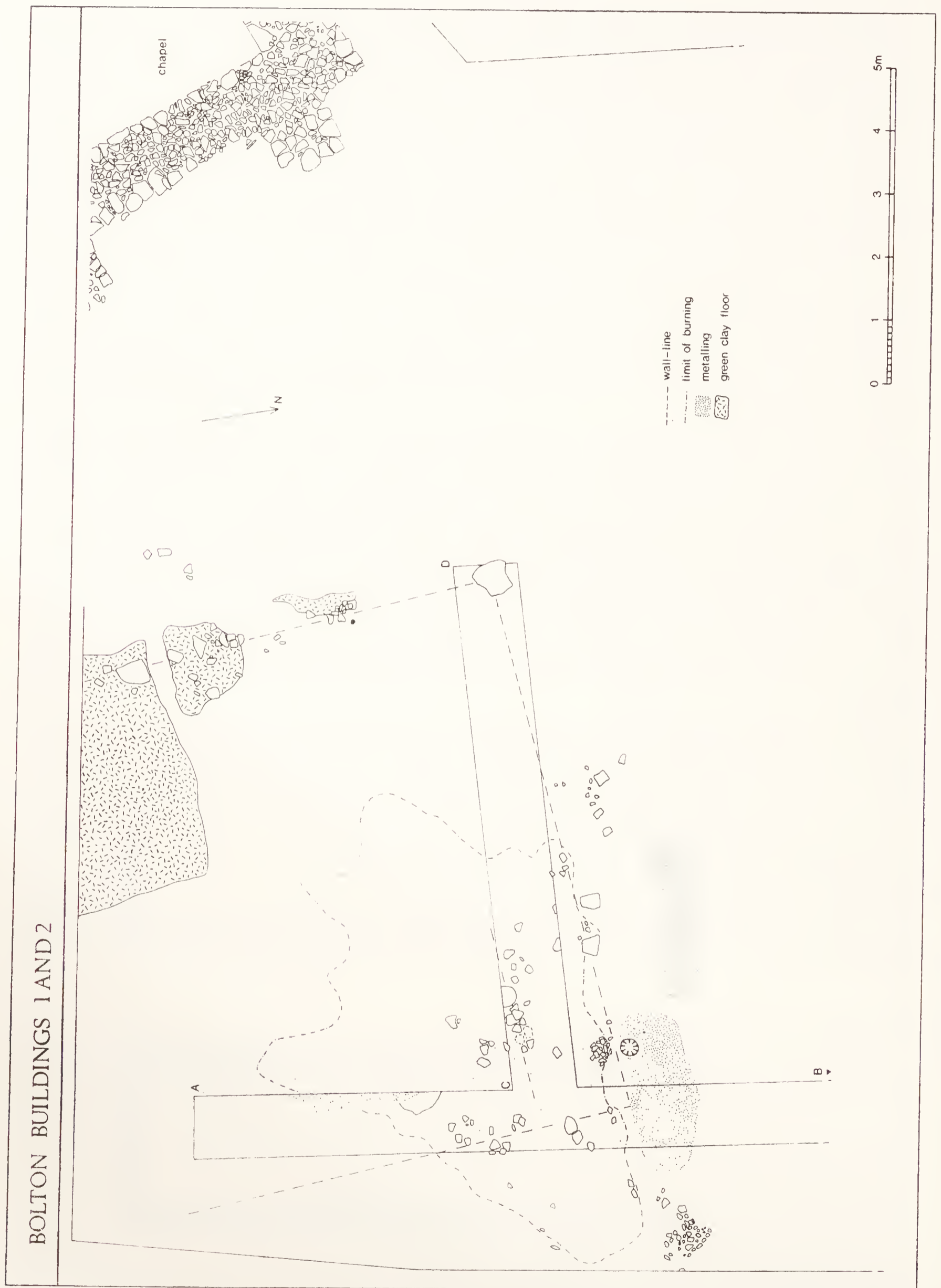


FIG. 5. Buildings 1 and 2, plan as excavated.

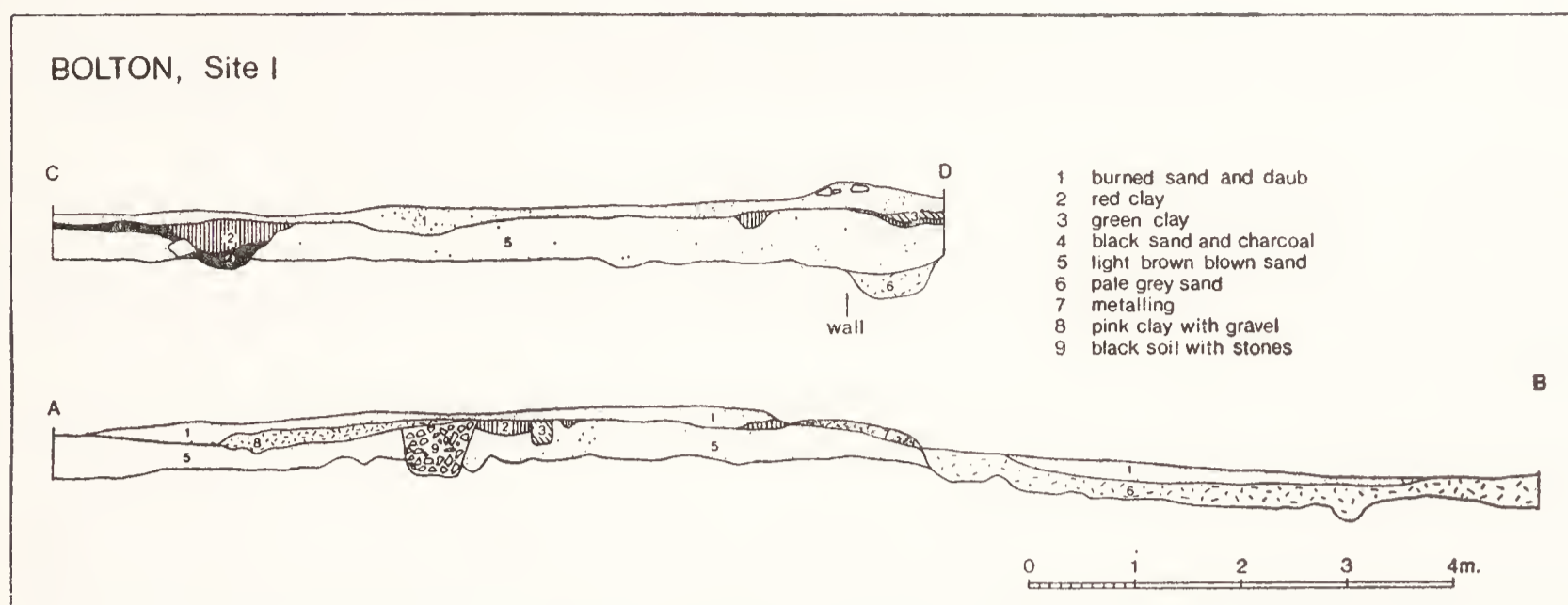


FIG. 6. Buildings 1 and 2, sections.

two buildings on the site, and their relationship was recovered by the excavation of two deep sections across them.

Building 1 appears to have been constructed in the late fourteenth century, and was traced as a floor of green clay laid upon wind-blown sand. This had clearly defined edges on the east and west sides, and was 4 m wide. The long axis of the building lay north-south. Most of the floor at the north end had been cut away, but sufficient remained to show that the building had been divided into two by a partition set in a slot in the floor. The southern limit of the house lay outside the excavated area.

To the north and east of the house were areas of metalling, one sealing a pit full of cobbles and black soil. These appear to have been paths for access to a yard on the east side. A short length of cobble and limestone walling running east-west was noted in association with Building 1, but its function could not be determined. The latest occupation of Building 1 appears to belong to the early fifteenth century. A short length of road-ditch was examined on the south side of the hollow-way in the vicinity of Building 1, and it is possible that the cutting of this part of the hollow-way is contemporary with the construction of Building 1.

The structure which appeared on the gradiometer survey was Building 2. This overlay Building 1 on the same alignment, the west wall of Building 2 being set 0.40 m east of the edge of the clay floor of Building 1. Although only destruction levels were removed, a partial plan was recovered, and it was possible to tell that Building 2 was constructed in the same manner as Building 6; a properly carpentered frame with principal posts set on pad-stones, and an interrupted sill beam carried on a rough rubble foundation. The building was apparently 8.6 m wide, and its length unknown as the south wall lay outside the excavated area. No internal features were examined. It was perhaps a barn, judging from its size, and was almost certainly aisled. As it was structurally identical to Building 6, it is likely that it was associated with that building and was contemporary with it. The pottery and other finds from the area of the building would suggest it was in use until the end of the seventeenth century or a little later, and it was then burned to the ground.

SITE II

Surface indications suggested a series of three crofts to the south of the chapel, lying approximately north-south along the present road line, and appearing as a long, low mound roughly 15 m wide. Crofts were clearly visible in the field to the north of Chapel Garth, and at the north end of Hall Garth. The geophysical survey suggested slight traces of occupation, and it was decided to excavate as much of the area as possible, as there was a chance that early medieval occupation would be found here. Three areas were stripped mechanically, but it was only possible to excavate one fully and half of a second. In the area

excavated, three buildings were examined (Buildings 3, 4 and 5), as well as a series of yard levels, separated by sterile deposits of wind-blown sand.

BUILDING 3 (Fig. 7)

Site II lay undeveloped until the beginning of the fourteenth century when Building 3 was erected on the undisturbed surface of the wind-blown sand found all over the field. A scatter of flint flakes in deposits associated with this building would suggest late neolithic activity in the area.

The building, a hall-house²² lying parallel to the street, measured 21.5 m by 8.8 m and was originally of timber and clay construction. Little trace of the structure remained. A little more than half was available for excavation as the rest lay beyond the field boundary, though enough remained to reconstruct the plan and to suggest how it might have been built. The eastern half revealed three rooms set in line; a kitchen, hall and inner room. The lower part of the north end-wall survived, but the east and south walls could only be presumed from the edge of the floors and a trampled path outside the building. The north wall consisted of packed yellow clay, laid in a slight trench, and surviving to a height of 0.10 m. At the east end was a post socket 0.30 m by 0.10 m, from which the corner post had been withdrawn. Close to the centre of the wall a second socket 0.50 m by 0.15 m represented a mid-wall post, which had also been withdrawn. Against the west face of the corner post was the setting for a diagonal brace. Presumably the western half of the wall mirrored this arrangement, and the south wall would have been of similar pattern. No trace of the east wall remained, and it must have been founded onto a sill-beam set on ground level. When the house floor of brown sandy clay was laid, it ran up to the inside edge of the sill-beam, showing its approximate alignment.

The house was modified but its plan was not radically altered. As the alterations need not be contemporary, each room is described in turn. The kitchen or service room lay at the north end of the building. It was not fully excavated, but was seen to have two distinct floors. Before the first was laid, a pit was dug against the south wall of the room and was filled with yellow clay. This was capped with a plug of burned clay, and at floor level, the base of an oven. An almost complete cooking pot was incorporated in the clay footing for this oven. When a new floor was laid a new oven was built above the remains of the old one, and when hollows wore in the floor next to the oven and against the south wall they were filled with a mixture of yellow and brown sandy clay. The south wall of the kitchen, dividing it from the cross passage, was traced both as a soil stain and from the edge of the late kitchen floor patching. No post-holes were traced, but a possible pad-stone was noted to the east of the oven, perhaps displaced when the building was demolished.

The hall and cross passage occupied the central part of Building 3. The cross passage, only 1.20 m wide, was defined in three ways. Two post-holes were located, associated with a soil stain running from west to east. The spread of ash from the hall fireplace did not extend north of these, suggesting a partition at this point, and patches of yellow clay represented repairs to the floor of the passage. The hall, like the kitchen, had two distinct floors. The earlier floor lay directly on the surface of the blown sand, and on it, approximately mid-way between the side walls and against the passage partition was a hearth of sandstone slabs set in clay. A single post-hole was noted to the east of this and others may have been missed. Burned daub in this area may have fallen from a smoke-hood. When the new floor was laid, a new hearth was built above and slightly to the east of the first. This went out of use, and in the final phase of occupation a small hearth of sandstone slabs was laid on top of domestic refuse on the floor. The upper end of the hall was featureless.

The inner room, possibly a parlour, lay to the south of the hall, and was distinctive in having a floor of reddish-brown clay. Originally, this room had been divided from the hall

²² For a discussion of medieval house-types see J. G. Hurst in J. G. Hurst and M. W. Beresford (ed.) *Medieval Village Studies* (1972) and refs.

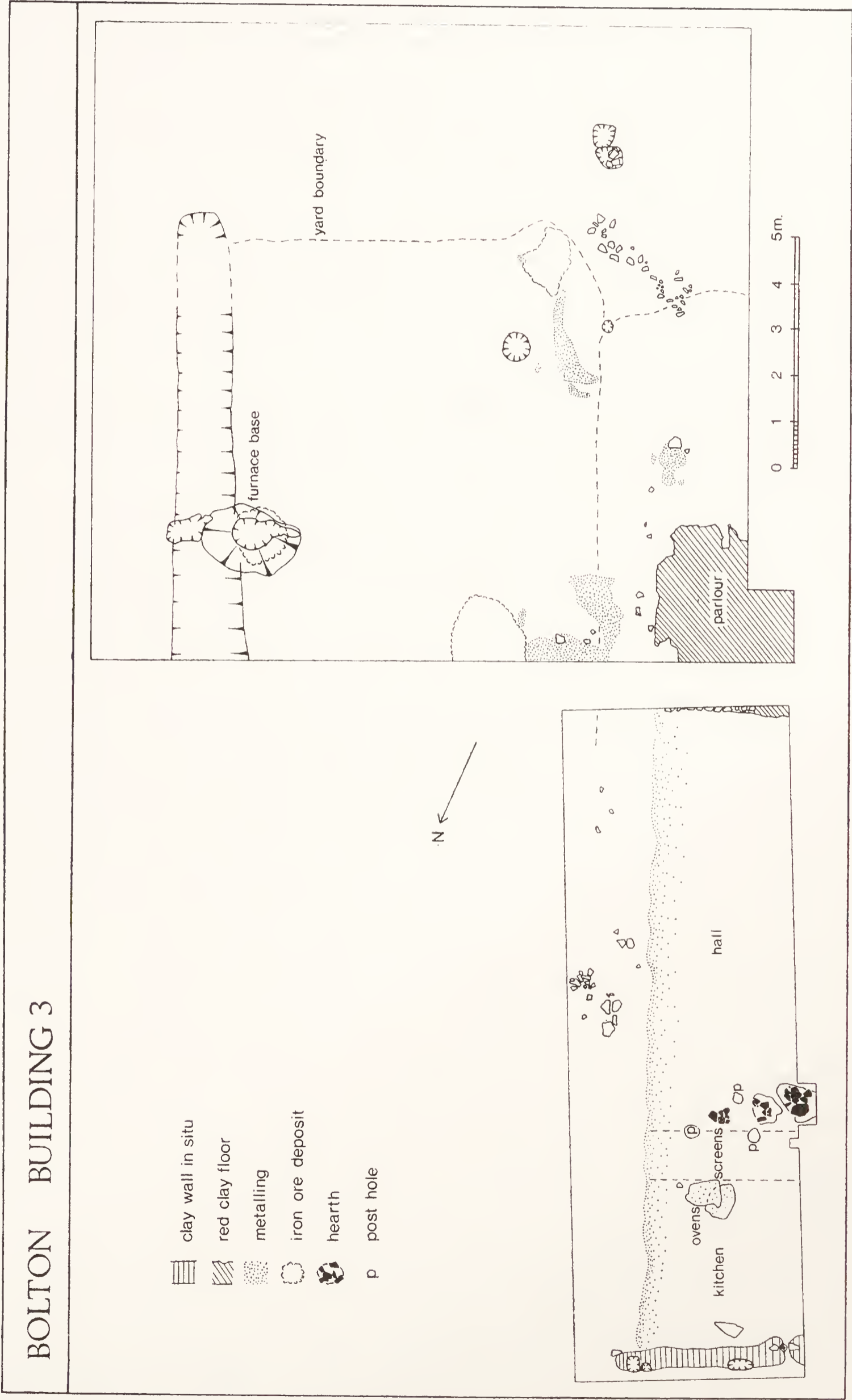


FIG. 7. Building 3, excavated plan.

by a timber partition, replaced when the hall floor was renewed with a wall of limestone rubble of which two courses remained over the edge of the parlour floor. The room was otherwise featureless. It was not refloored as the hall and kitchen had been, but had been kept much cleaner than the other rooms. The position of the south end wall is presumed, but both the east and south edges of the floor were clearly defined.

Little more can be said of the structure of Building 3 except that it was apparently thatched. A few fragments of clay roof-tile and limestone 'slates' were found within the building and may be derived from the smoke-hole in the roof.

On pottery evidence, Building 3 was erected no earlier than the end of the thirteenth century or the early years of the fourteenth century, and was apparently demolished at the end of the fourteenth century, when all re-usable materials were removed and the site levelled up. Many nails were found in the yard behind the house, associated with late fourteenth-century pottery, and must come from the building. The site was then buried under a deposit of wind-blown sand.

In addition to the house, approximately half the yard to the east of it was also examined. Four distinct levels of yard were associated with Building 3: Level VI represents the building of the house; Levels V and IV its occupation; and Level III its final occupation and destruction. Each level was sealed by a layer of wind-blown sand.

Level VI lay directly on the surface of the sterile blown sand and contained features contemporary with the construction of Building 3. Set into the sand around the south-east corner of the building was a metalled path 0.40 m wide, made up of crushed limestone and gravel. Only patches survived but its position was shown by heavily trampled areas of sand. The path did not extend north of the screens door, nor was there a path outside the north wall of Building 3. Lying on the clean surface of the yard were two spreads of untreated iron ore. There were no traces of smelting, but this could have been confined to the unexcavated half of the yard. The only other feature at this level was a small pit 0.40 m deep, containing the lower half of a jug. Above the pit, the path, and the iron ore was a slight spread of occupation debris which must represent rubbish accumulated during building or in the initial occupation of the house. Above this was a deposit of wind-blown sand 0.10 m thick.

Level V was associated with the early occupation of Building 3. Although the metalled path was buried by drifted sand, its position was still marked by a trampled strip. East of this trampling was the surface of the yard proper, covered with a thick deposit of domestic refuse, extending eastwards to the limit of the excavation, but having a definite limit 5.50 m south of the south wall of Building 3. There was no sign of a ditch or fence, but the limit of this rubbish spread probably marks the southern croft boundary. To the south, only a small amount of rubbish was recorded and this plot does not seem to have been occupied at this time. A substantial patch of gravel and clay metalling was recorded in the south-west corner, and a noticeable spread of limestone chippings occurred along the western side of the yard. Many lumps of iron slag were found in the yard, but again no trace of smelting.

A further 0.10 m of blown sand effectively sealed this deposit, and Level IV represents the later occupation of the house. It was not possible to tell whether this new phase of the yard was contemporary with the modification of the building. However, it should be noted that the adjustments to the house involved raising the level of the floors which by this stage were well below outside ground level. The general arrangements of the yard were the same as in Level V, but it was obviously now being used for iron smelting. Scattered throughout the rubbish which accumulated on its surface were quantities of iron slag, and at the east end the base of a demolished smelting hearth. This had been dug down into one of the spreads of iron ore noted in Level VI. Quantities of charcoal noted throughout the area of the yard examined may have been derived from the furnace. The thickness of the rubbish deposit at this level varied from 0.20 m to 0.30 m with layers of clean sand amongst the deposits of rubbish. Sand must have been constantly drifting into the yard at this period.

After the furnace was filled, a shallow ditch was dug across it, along the east side of the yard, parallel to Building 3 and extending to the south property boundary. For most of its length it was only noted as a slight soil stain with indeterminate edges. At the south end, the ditch was 0.33 m deep, with a sloping bottom, but at the north end it was much shallower. It was filled with dark brown sand and refuse. The southern limit of the yard was still demonstrated by the spread of refuse, and in the same position as in Level V. A spread of limestone and chalk gravel noted on the west side of the yard, at the rear of the house, seems to have been laid down where there was heavy wear on the surface.

In Level IV the earliest activity was noted to the south of this croft. A short length of metalled path was located south of the croft boundary, and a small pit was excavated to the south of this. There was little occupation debris to the south of the Building 3 croft, and this area may not have been occupied by a house site. The Level IV yard was sealed beneath a layer of blown sand up to 0.25 m thick.

Building 3 does not seem to have been occupied for many years after the Level IV yard was sealed by blown sand. The final level represents limited occupation and then demolition. The yard was laid out as it had been in the previous level, the eastern boundary ditch was cleared out, and a fresh spread of gravel was laid at the rear of Building 3. Only a light scatter of rubbish accumulated and a small pit was dug. Building 3 was then demolished, and the timbers removed were probably stacked in the yard. Quantities of daub were spread across the yard, but the most interesting feature of the demolition was the spread of nails across the east of the yard, probably removed from the rafters when they were cleaned for re-use. Once the site was cleared, it was left empty for long enough to be sealed by a layer of blown sand.

BUILDING 4 (Fig. 8)

Levels I and II represent the construction and occupation of a building on a different site from Building 3, and not respecting the previous croft boundaries. This was Building 4.

The result of the accumulation of rubbish and blown sand in the yard was that its yard surface was appreciably higher than the floor of the demolished structure, accounting for the present elevation of the site. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, a house was erected on the crest of the low mound, with its axis parallel to the north-south village street, but set some 11.7 m from the edge of the roadway. The building overlay the south boundary of the earlier croft, indicating a change of layout of the properties along the street south of the chapel.

Building 4 was of unusual construction. When first exposed, it appeared as two parallel strips of dark brown sandy soil, with a triangular patch of the same material spread across their northern limit. This deposit contained a great amount of plant and grass roots, and was decayed turf. When this was removed, the site appeared as a layer of dirty wind-blown sand with a light spread of flints and chalk gravel over all its surface except beneath the decayed turf. Within the area enclosed by the turf was a spread of occupation debris and charcoal which did not continue under the base of the turf.

Building 4 was apparently of three bays, two and a half of which lay within the area excavated. Internally, it measured 4 m by 11.5 m and was divided into two by a partition which was indicated by a strip of floor with no traces of occupation, flints, or gravel. A spread of charcoal indicated a central hearth in the larger room.

Its structure remains problematical. No post-holes were found below the turf walls and there was insufficient turf to imply that the house had been totally built in that material. Surface erosion had removed a great deal, but the degree of spreading over the wall-lines was so limited as to suggest that little turf had fallen and it is unlikely that any had been removed from the building. The triangular deposit at the north end of the house overlay the east and west walls and was thicker. From this, it would appear that the gable walls were



FIG. 8. Building 4, excavated plan.

built to the ridge in turf, and that the north wall had collapsed southwards across the building, sealing low turf sleeper-walls which had originally carried sill-beams for the side walls. The remains of the north wall would suggest a gable height of roughly 4 m.

Unfortunately, Building 4 did not have the same deep stratification as Building 3. There was no obvious destruction level, and the occupation deposits were not sealed. The remains lay just below the present topsoil.²³ The pottery would suggest a destruction date in the mid-fifteenth century.

At the rear was a yard which had worn slightly hollow and was filled with a similar

²³ By plotting all artifacts and soil changes it was possible to determine the occupation spread associated with this building and also Building 5.

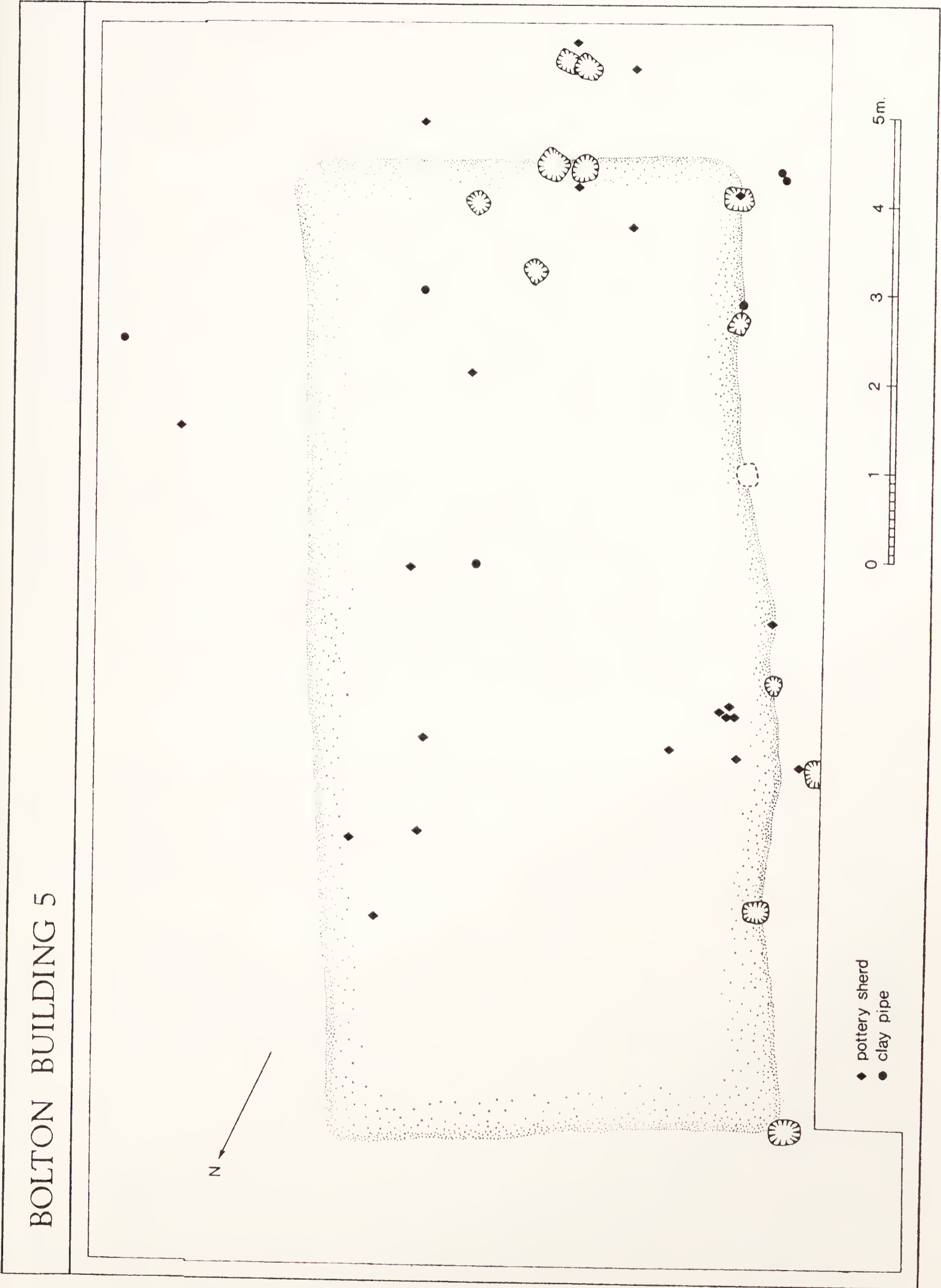


FIG. 9. Building 5, excavated plan.

brown, sandy deposit to the remains of the turf walls. It was, however, much richer in humic content and may represent thatch from the roof or an organic build-up such as animal manure. Insufficient was examined to draw any firm conclusions. In front of the house, between it and the street, was an open yard, lightly scattered with gravel.

A similar building was noted to the north of Building 4 where an area was being mechanically stripped to reveal the northern part of Building 3. Only the south gable wall of this turf building was seen, lying in the same position as the north wall of Building 4, approximately 12 m to the north of it.

BUILDING 5 (Fig. 9)

Site II lay empty from the mid-fifteenth century until the early eighteenth century when a timber building was erected on the eroded yard surface between Building 4 and the road.

A rectangular patch of occupation material containing clay pipes, post-medieval pottery, and a halfpenny of George II lay between Building 4 and the road. No trace of any structure was noted in Levels I and II, and it was presumed that all traces had been lost through surface erosion, and all that remained was refuse from within. When Levels I and II were removed, and the surface of Level III examined, a series of square post-holes were revealed. These were dug to a uniform depth, but had been disturbed by the withdrawal of the timbers.

In two cases, there was evidence to suggest the renewal of posts and the recutting of post-holes. They represented the west and south walls of a building 11 m by 5.2 m, the plan of which was completed by the scatter of occupation material located in Level I. The north wall-line lay within a trial trench and only one post-hole was noted, and then only because it appeared in section.²⁴ However, the line of the east wall was carefully examined, and no post-holes were found, perhaps indicating a different form of construction. It was not possible to reconstruct the form of the building. It may have been a barn or byre for, although it contained pottery and other rubbish, there was no real evidence for occupation. This was the latest building examined and may have been erected after Chapel Garth was cleared for pasture.

SITE III

At the east end of the hollow-way running across Chapel Garth there was a prominent house-platform 17 m by 8 m with a sunken yard on its west side (Fig. 2). The platform was aligned approximately north-south. There was a pathway leading up the east side, visible on the surface. The geophysical survey had located an area of high anomaly on the platform, but the yard was almost featureless. It was decided to strip the surface of the platform, and to examine the yard by trenching.

BUILDING 6 (Figs. 10, 11, 12 and 13)

The building revealed on the surface of the platform had two phases of construction. Enough evidence was recovered to enable it to be reconstructed (Fig. 13),²⁵ and for several of its timbers to be identified.²⁶ The building had been burned, and structural elements lay where they had fallen. Concentrations of glass showed the position of windows, and other parts of the building could be identified from structural ironwork.

As the land surface falls away to the north, it had been necessary to build a level platform with sand and clay dug from the yard area. A few medieval sherds found in the make-up of the platform must be derived from earth dug from the yard, but the latest pieces dated its construction to the last years of the sixteenth century. Several holes dug into the surface

²⁴ A fragment of a Neolithic stone axe was found in the packing of this post-hole, see p. 114 below.

²⁵ I am grateful to G. T. M. Beresford and P. W. Dixon for their advice on the reconstruction of this building.

²⁶ The following timbers have been identified by Mrs. C. Keepax of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory: principals and studs *Quercus* sp. (oak);? wall plate *Fraxinus excelsior* L. (ash); laths from the wall-cladding *Sarothamnus scoparius* (L) (broom) and *Salix* sp. (willow). The willow was beetle-infested. Several fragments of *Pinus* sp. were also recovered. One piece of ash, 30 mm in diameter may be a glazing bar from a window.



FIG. 10. Building 6, excavated plan.

BOLTON 1973

BUILDING 6 INTERPRETATION

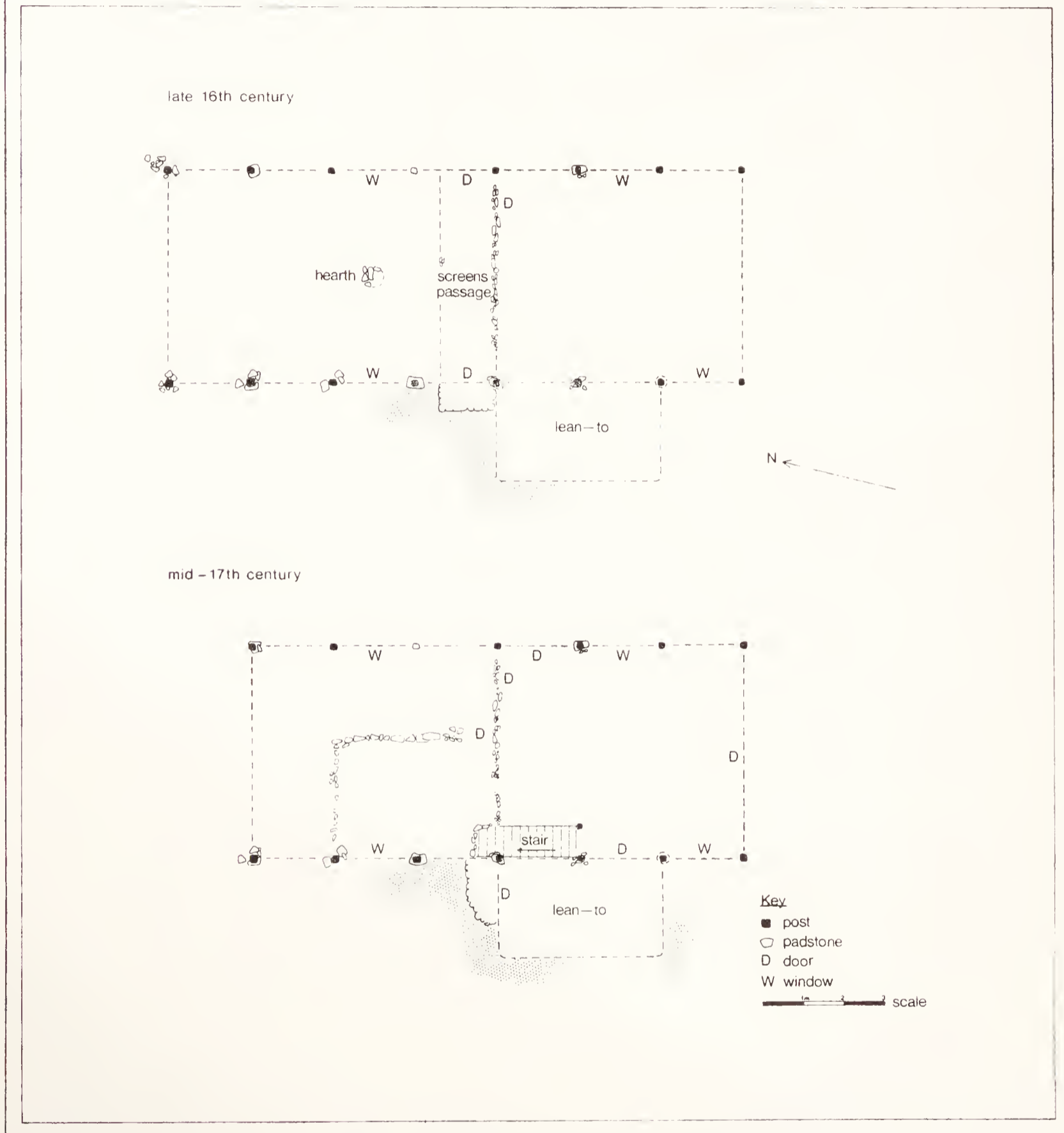


FIG. 11. Building 6, simplified phase plan.

of the platform were either refilled with the material dug from them or with clean pink gravel, but there is no reason to suspect that these had any structural significance. The most likely explanation of the gravel-filled holes is that they were dug to test the stability of the platform before Building 6 was raised, and were filled with gravel to prevent subsidence.

Building 6, constructed directly upon the platform, was a carpentered cross-passage house 14 m by 5 m of seven equal bays. The excavated plan (Fig. 10) clearly shows its form. The oak principal posts which were at least 0.25 m wide, and apparently of square section, were set on pad-stones or clusters of stones, and an interrupted sill-beam ran between them,

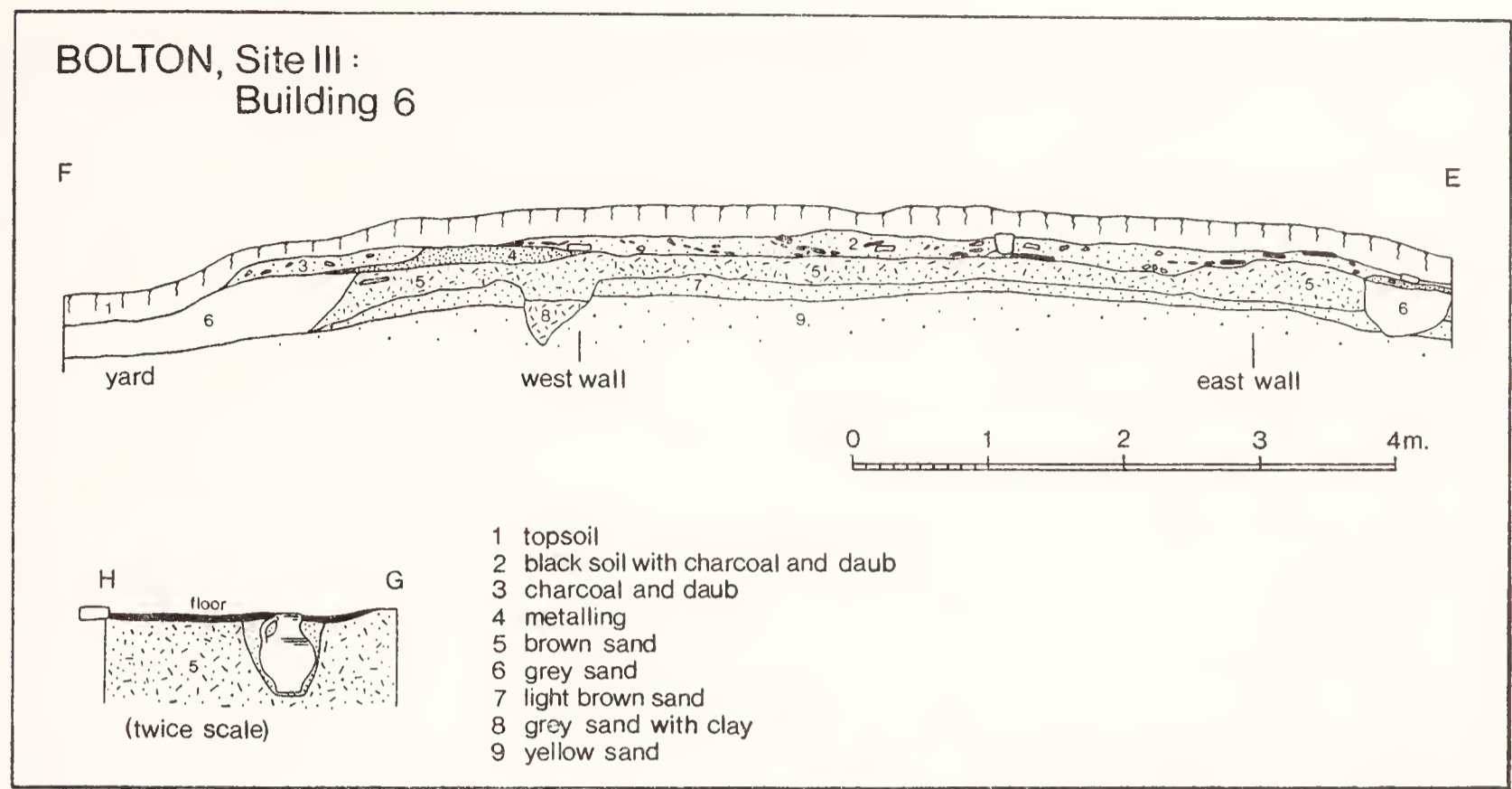


FIG. 12. Building 6, sections.

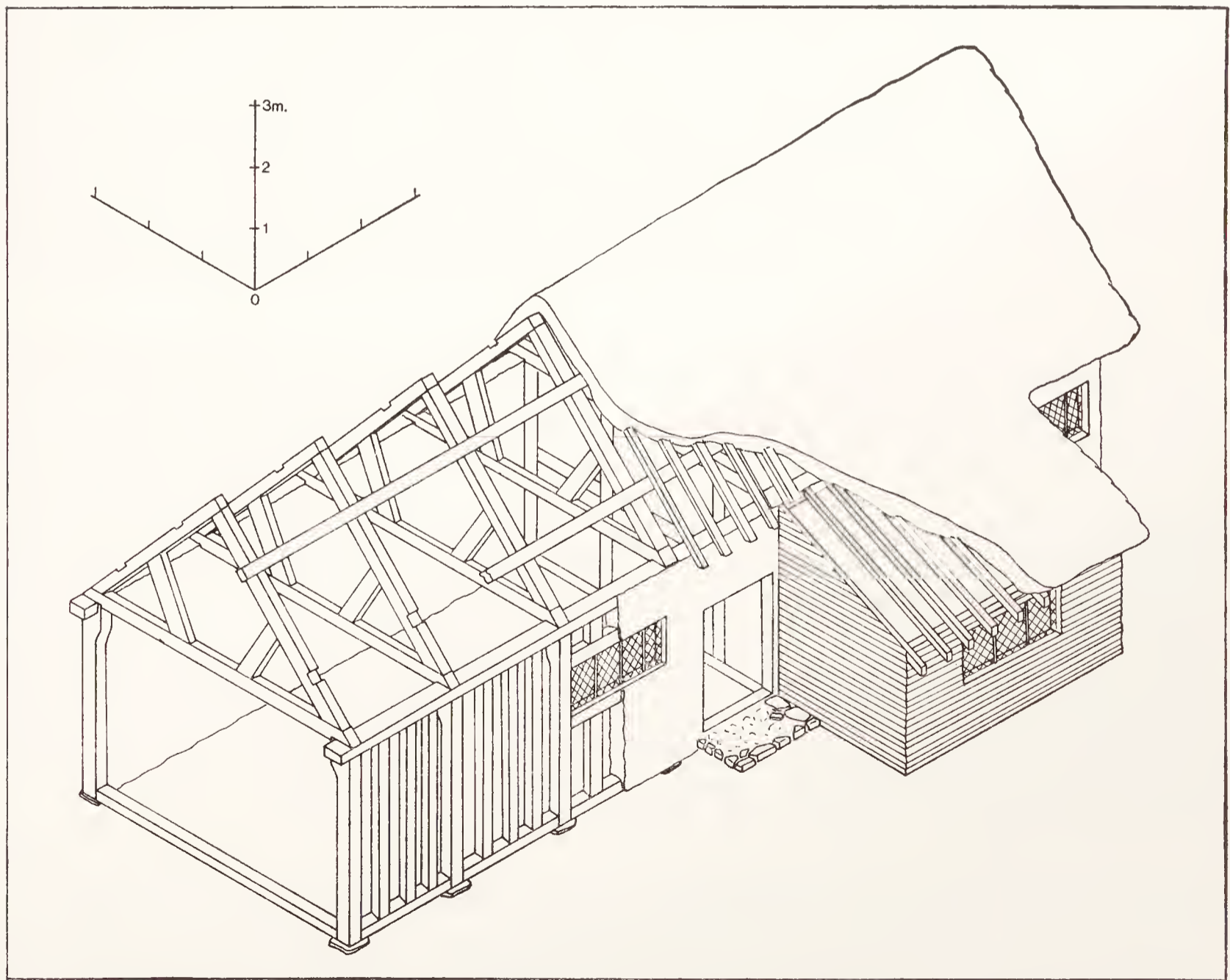


FIG. 13. Building 6, suggested reconstruction.

raised to their level on a rough rubble foundation. The wall structure was most apparent on the west side where the pad-stones and rubble had not been removed or displaced. The east wall had fallen across the building, and several posts had survived in a carbonised state. The side walls can be reconstructed as follows: the principal posts stood to a height of 3 m and were placed at approximately 2 m centres; between them stood three studs at least 0.10 m wide, and apparently of rectangular section. Laths were nailed to the posts inside and out; the walls were thickly plastered with daub; and the outside was lime-washed. There were glazed windows with diamond-shaped panes set in the third and sixth bays of the east wall, and in the third and seventh bays of the west wall. The windows had wooden shutters from which the hinges and fasteners remained. The gable walls are less easy to reconstruct, but were clay-filled rather than plastered over laths. No elements of their frames survived.

The roof structure is not certain, and very little remained beyond a few fragments of rafter. On local analogy, one would expect a principal rafter roof with raking struts from the tie-beams (Fig. 13). A jowled head survived on the third post of the east wall, indicating that the structure was carpentered, and that the principal posts engaged with tie-beams and wall-plate. The roof was thatched, and the building was sealed by burned straw. Some of the thatching was still attached to the glaze on pottery vessels which had fluxed with the heat of the burning. On the west side of the house, a lean-to shed was built as part of the original construction. It occupied the fifth and sixth bays and was 2.40 m wide. Although there were many nails and quantities of burned timber in the area of this outshot, there was no daub, and it seems that this part of the building had been weatherboarded. There was a large, centrally-placed window in its west wall.

Internally, the four northern bays constituted the living area and cross passage. A sandstone hearth was placed centrally in the third bay. Almost all traces of the internal arrangements were removed when the house was altered in the seventeenth century, but it was possible to trace the north wall of the cross-passage by a few stones incorporated in a later partition wall, demonstrating that the passage had occupied 1.10 m of the fourth bay. There was a door at either end. That in the west wall was marked by a well-built threshold against the outer edge of the wall foundation. The eastern door was demonstrated by the end of the hollow path up the east side of the house platform. The lower end of the house was divided from the upper end by a substantial timber-framed partition set on a cobble foundation at the south end of the fourth bay.

No original features remained within the lower end of the house or in the outshot, and it was not possible to tell the use of this part. The lack of drainage and stalls precludes a byre, but there was no trace of domestic occupation. The original sandy clay floor survived, no more than 1 or 2 cm thick and laid directly on the surface of the platform. Sealed by the floor in the north-west corner of the room was a small pit which contained a complete jug, set upright and sealed before burial. This may have been intended as a 'witch bottle', but these are usually buried inverted. Alternatively, it may have been foundation deposit. The only object associated with the jug was a fragment of clay-pipe stem.

There was a slight change in building technique at the south end perhaps indicating a repair. All four principal posts of the seventh bay seem to have been set in holes and not on pad-stones. The hole for the sixth post on the west side still contained the charred stump of its post. The other three post-holes were not found, either because they were sealed below fallen daub which was not lifted or had been destroyed by mole action.

Building 6 did not occupy all of the surface of the platform. On the west side, between the west wall of the house and the yard, there was a metalled path, 1.40 m wide, made up of the same pink gravel that had been used to fill the holes in the surface of the platform.

It began near the third bay and continued southwards around the north wall of the lean-to. A patch of gravel to the south of the lean-to suggests that the path originally ran around it. On the east side of the house, the sunken pathway was metalled with the same gravel and

revetted with a dry-stone wall.

In the mid-seventeenth century the house was radically altered. The north end bay was demolished, and the clay filling of the gable wall was spread over the end of the platform. The main entrance was moved from the fourth bay on the west side of the building, and that on the eastern side was also blocked. Entry was now provided through the north wall of the timber lean-to on the west side of the building, and a new cobble door-step was added, partly covering the original threshold. A new door was made in the sixth bay of the east wall, and the fallen remains of this door were found in excavation. A wide double-door pierced through the south wall was marked by a gap 2.50 m wide, giving access to the lower end of the house which may now have acted as a wagon shed. The clay removed when the door was cut was dumped on the surface of the platform outside the door, and a few cobbles had been set in it.

Internally, even greater changes were made. At the upper end of the house the screen wall was removed from the cross passage, and a small room c. 4 m by 3 m was partitioned off, the sill-beams of the partitions being carried on rubble footings lying on the floor. Constant scouring had removed all the original floor in the upper end of the house not sealed by the partition walls. A first floor was inserted into the upper end of the building at this stage, access to this being by a staircase inserted along the west wall, partly blocking the original west door, and cutting through the main cross-wall. In view of the limited headroom in the roof-space, this may only indicate the insertion of a loft. The central hearth of the original building was removed at this time and was not replaced. However, it would seem that the upper end of the house was still used as a dwelling as it contained a quantity of domestic refuse and large amounts of pottery. Within the partitioned room, where burning had been intense, more personal items had survived, including a hairnet, and several lengths of string. The lower end was shown to be a store of agricultural equipment by the number of tools found here, especially against the door in the east wall. Here, lying where they had fallen when the house was burned, were the remains of two saddles, knives, a fork, a pitchfork, part of a scythe (Fig. 32), and a large amount of straw. As the house was burned with its contents, a great quantity of material can be associated with the final phase of occupation. The latest pottery and two coins suggest that the house was destroyed in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, apparently at the same time as Building 2.

THE YARD

The fold yard contemporary with the construction of Building 6, measured 20 m by 26 m and was dug into the wind-blown sand and natural sand and clay. One trench was dug across it from west to east, and a second was dug to examine the relationship of the yard to the hollow-way (Fig. 13).

The yard had always been prone to flooding, and a modern land drain had been laid from its centre into the hollow-way, through the original entrance to the yard. From the late eighteenth century, rubble had been spread across the floor of the yard to stop cattle fouling themselves. Throughout the seventeenth century, the yard had been kept clean. Originally, it had been cobbled, and many cobbles remained in place on the west and north sides of the house-platform, but they had been scoured away from the yard floor. Dug into this floor, parallel to the west edge of the house-platform, were two clay-filled gullies. It was not clear whether they were contemporary, earlier or later than the cobbling of the yard, but their purpose must have been to carry run-off water from the house roof and the surface of the platform.

The yard was separated from the hollow-way on its north side by a low bank of sand and clay, partly natural and partly built up with sand derived from the road-side ditch. Cut into the inside edge of the bank were the shallow footings of a stone wall, of green sandstone set in clay. There was no evidence of robbing, and it would seem that the 'wall' was a revet-

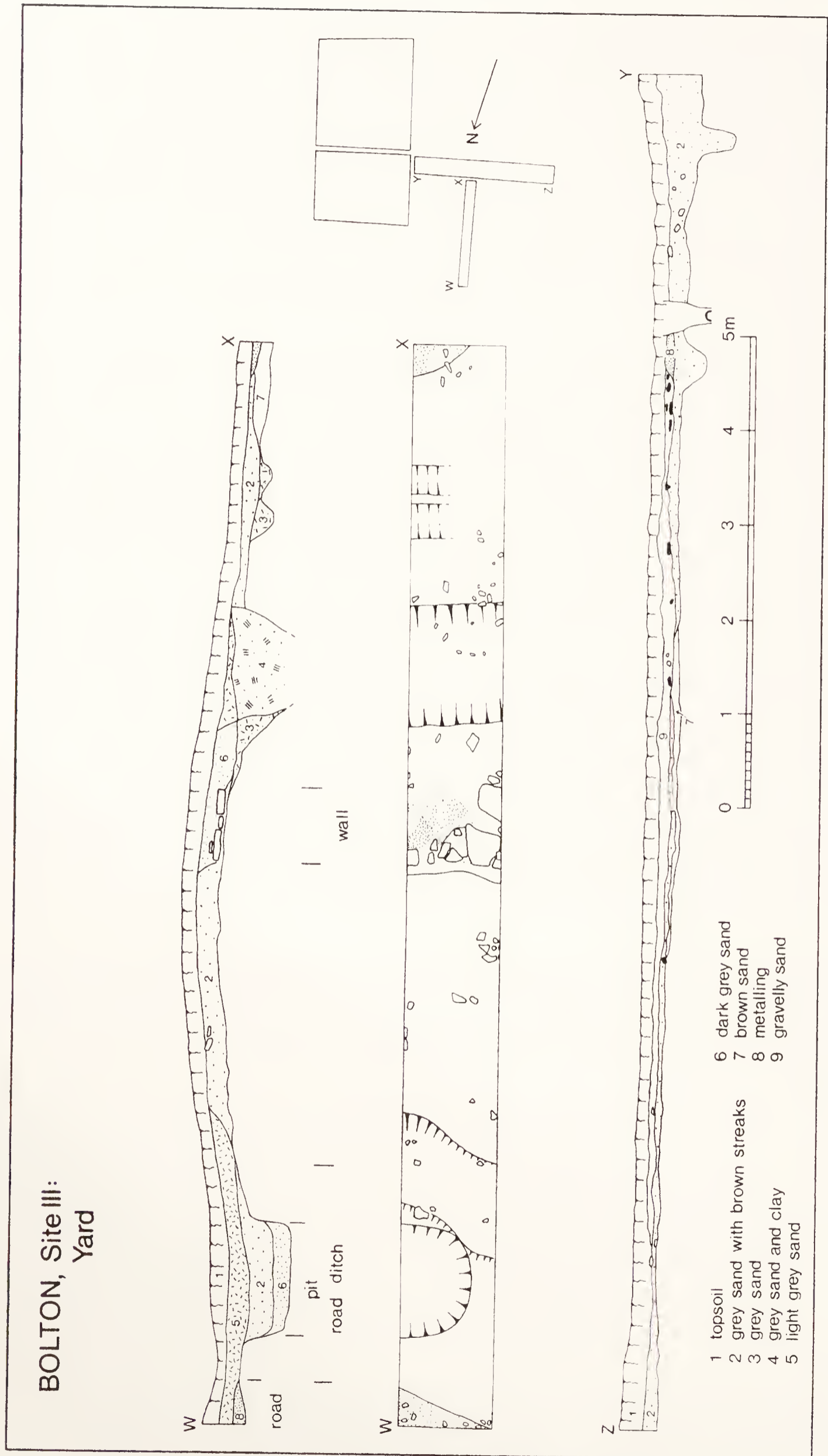


FIG. 14. Building 6 yard, excavated plan and sections.

ment of turf standing on a stone foundation. There was no trace of a similar revetment on the west side but it is possible that the other, steeper sides needed no more than a fence to keep the stock in. Within the revetment was a deep gully filled with grey sand and clay, and two parallel slots or gullies.

On the outside of the yard, a small portion of the hollow-way was examined. Surface indications suggested that the road was flanked by shallow ditches, and excavation confirmed that such a ditch did exist on the south; it would be safe to assume that there were two ditches. The road was metalled with a thin layer of gravel. The few sherds of pottery recovered suggested that the hollow-way at its eastern end was contemporary with the construction of Building 6 and the yard. A sub-circular pit 0.50 m deep dug through the silting of the road-ditch into the natural clay and sand, had apparently served to collect surface water. It was silted and had been filled with sand during the later seventeenth century.

Discussion

Building 6, Building 2, and the yard are contemporary, and represent a farm established in the late sixteenth century, when the field was no longer occupied by crofts, and the chapel was in the process of being demolished. Most of the visible earthworks in Chapel Garth can be associated with the farm. The eastern half of the hollow-way and the open area and pond to the east seem to be contemporary with the construction of the yard and house-platform. Building 2 was erected to serve as a barn, and the southern portion of the field may contain animal pens.

The farm continued to function until the early years of the eighteenth century, when both Buildings 2 and 6 were destroyed by fire with their contents. A halfpenny of 1695–1700 was found on the floor surface in Building 6, and a second of 1700 was associated with the destruction of the same building. Pottery evidence indicates that both buildings were burned at the same time, and as they were too far apart for the fire to have spread accidentally, there is the possibility that the farm was fired intentionally. Bolton had been combined with Fangfoss in the mid-seventeenth century, and the destruction of the farm could well date to the period of enclosure. Fangfoss was enclosed in 1723.²⁷

4. CONCLUSION

No trace of the late Saxon township was found, and there was no pottery of late Saxon date from Chapel Garth. Nor was any early pottery recovered when a house was built in the north-east corner of Hall Garth. This would suggest that the original village lay to the north of the deserted area, now under the southern half of the modern village. The earliest development in Chapel Garth did not take place until the late eleventh century, when the chapel was built. The chapel occupied a virgin site, probably on the southern boundary of the early village. The field to the north of Chapel Garth (Fig. 2) has not produced any early pottery, but the earliest deposits should be buried by blown sand deposits well below plough-depth, and it is unlikely that they will ever be disturbed. It is not possible to date any of the crofts in Hall Garth, except to say that some seem to predate the moated site. At least one croft in the north-east corner of the field was occupied during the fourteenth century.

It was not until the early years of that century that occupation spread into Chapel Garth, with the establishment of crofts along the east side of the Pocklington road. The chapel had been enlarged in the twelfth century, and this could be interpreted as a sign of population growth. From the evidence available, the township reached its peak in population and development in the early years of the fourteenth century a size sustained for perhaps fifty years. It is most likely that the seignorial moat also belongs to this period, planted on top of crofts at the south end of the village, and the chapel was again enlarged, this time to create

²⁷ Information from D. Neave.

a chancel. It is tempting to see all three developments as the work of the wealthy Robert de Boulton, who held the manor at this time.²⁸

Occupation continued along the east side of the Pocklington road in the second half of the fourteenth century. Buildings with turf footings and gable-walls replaced the timber and daub structure of the early fourteenth century. More significant was the fact that these did not respect the early croft boundaries, indicating a re-planning of this part of the village, perhaps because of the establishment of a cemetery on the south side of the chapel. Building 1 is possibly the replacement of a house on the south side of the chapel. These buildings were abandoned at some point in the first half of the fifteenth century, and the village must have contracted. The chapel survived this contraction, but there is no evidence to show that any further work was done on its structure.

Chapel Garth seems to have reverted to pasture during the later fifteenth century, and no further development took place until the close of the sixteenth century when the farmstead was established at the centre of the field. The chapel has ceased to function in the middle years of the sixteenth century, and seems to have been partly demolished at the same time. If Chapel Garth represents the endowment of the chantry, it is possible that the farm represents the amalgamation of the three holdings recorded in 1548, and that it occupied a large area of the field. The farm continued in occupation throughout the seventeenth century, and two of its buildings were burned down in the early part of the eighteenth century, at a date which may represent the enclosure of Bolton and Fangfoss. After the farm had been destroyed, the field was returned to pasture and a small barn or byre was erected on the east side of the Pocklington road.

5. THE FINDS

The excavation produced extensive groups of stratified finds ranging in date from the early twelfth century to the first part of the eighteenth century. The material published here is selected from the general collection and relates to the series of buildings published above. All finds, with stated exceptions, are held by the Humberside County Museums Service, along with the complete site record and the author's working notes.

POTTERY by Glyn Coppack²⁹

There is a lack of published pottery groups from the area, and as most of the Bolton material is securely stratified, it is judged to be worth publishing in detail. Twelve groups are studied below, eleven from the writer's excavation, and one found earlier in Hall Garth.³⁰ They range in date from the early fourteenth to the early eighteenth century, and are associated with the chapel, and with Buildings 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6. The pottery from Building 5 is duplicated in the latest group from Building 6.

The pottery for the most part can be split into a series of fabric types, some of which can be assigned to a probable kiln source. Only unusual vessels will be described fully. The following fabric-types have been defined:

1. *Staxton-type ware* A finely sand-tempered ware with a wide colour range, from a pale pink, through orange, brown-buff, to dark grey and even black. The sand-tempering includes small grains of yellow and grey quartz as well as the usual white grains. Occasional chalk fragments also occur in the body. The vessels are competently thrown and evenly fired. Very few hand-made vessels were noted. No glazed sherds occurred, although they are known at the kiln source.³¹ Comparison with sherds from kilns at

²⁸ See note 5.

²⁹ I should like to acknowledge the considerable assistance of Miss N. Williams in the preparation of this section of the report, and also the advice of Mrs. H. E. J. le Patourel and J. G. Hurst.

³⁰ For details, see p. 94 above.

³¹ At Staxton, Kiln I. Information from T. G. Manby, Doncaster Museum, where the Staxton and Potter Brompton material is held.

Staxton and Potter Brompton showed that little conclusion could be drawn other than the fact that the forms produced at these kilns occurred at Bolton.³² The Staxton-type wares from Bolton were not as uniform in fabric as those from excavated kilns, and the source of the vessels considered here may still await discovery. Cooking-pots, bowls, and pancheons are represented in this ware.

2. *Cream gritty ware* A very hard, cream-coloured fabric tempered with large quartzose grits, some up to 3 mm across. This ware is always oxydised and varies in colour from pale orange to pale cream. The surfaces are rough to the touch. This ware is well represented at York and was possibly made there, though no kiln sites are known.³³ It is essentially a utility ware and occurs at Bolton only as cooking-pots and bowls.

3. *Off-white sandy ware* This ware, which varies in colour from pale orange to white, is finely sand-tempered and usually fully oxydised. All vessels have a slightly sandy 'feel' about them. Many pots in this ware are glazed, the most common colours being a pale yellow-green, a mottled light-dark green, and a rich olive green. Moulded, rouletted, knife-cut, stamped, and combed decoration is recorded at Bolton on vessels in this fabric. The source is presumed to be York, where no kilns are known, but the quantity of vessels in this ware discovered in the city would point to there being a centre of production there.³⁴ Jugs, cooking-pots, and bowls occur in this ware at Bolton.

4. *Smooth Humber ware* Humber wares were first defined by Mrs. le Patourel as a series of similar fabrics produced in the general area of the Humber basin.³⁵ In fact the distribution is much wider with vessels produced in this type of fabric as far south as Lincoln,³⁶ and possibly throughout the Vale of York. At Bolton, a distinct Humber ware can be defined. The fabric is smooth and virtually sandless, ranging in colour from pale pink to brown. Many vessels are glazed, and the glaze can be clear green-yellow, green-brown, or brown. All vessels are well made, and the fabric tends to be very hard. Occasionally jugs are internally reduced. There is a remarkable uniformity in this ware which might suggest that the bulk of the material is derived from one kiln or group of kilns. Several kilns are known in the general vicinity of Bolton: at Kelk,³⁷ Holme-on-Spalding Moor,³⁸ West Cowick,³⁹ and Hull.⁴⁰ The forms they produced were quite standard, and there is not much variation in fabric. Several Bolton pieces may be Cowick products. At Bolton, the usual range of jugs, drinking-pots, cooking-pots and bowls occur.

5. *Sandy Humber ware* This is a sand-tempered version of smooth Humber ware. In some cases the quartz tempering is quite coarse and gives a rough texture to the body. Apart from the difference in tempering, this ware is identical to smooth Humber ware, and the same comments apply. Jugs, cooking-pots and bowls are recorded.

6. *Developed Humber ware* A hard, slightly sandy, pale orange fabric, invariably with a pale grey core, and with one or both surfaces covered with a clear pale-green glaze or a yellow-green glaze. The standard of potting is high and all the vessels in this fabric appear

³² Publication of the kilns excavated by T. C. M. Brewster is still awaited. For a survey of typical vessel-forms from these kilns see J. G. Rutter: "Medieval Pottery in Scarborough Museum", *Scarborough and District Arch. Soc.*, Rpt II (1961).

³³ Information from P. V. Addyman and Miss J. Holdsworth.

³⁴ Most of the medieval jugs and cooking pots of York provenance in the Yorkshire Museum collection are in this fabric, and this would suggest extensive local production.

³⁵ In C. V. Bellamy: "Pontefract Priory excavations 1957-61", *Publ. Thoresby Soc.* 49, No. 110 (1962-64), pp. 113-115.

³⁶ H. Chapman, G. Coppack, and P. L. Drewett: "Excavations at the Bishops' Palace, Lincoln, 1968-72", *Lincs. Hist. and Archaeol. Monograph I* (1975), p. 23, and Fig. 9, p. 75. There is reason to believe that this vessel is actually a Lincoln product.

³⁷ Pottery in the Sewerby Hall Museum, Bridlington, unpublished.

³⁸ Excavated by E. Greenfield in 1945. Report by P. Mayes and C. Hayfield now (1977) in preparation. Pottery in Hull Museum and Roman Malton Museum. Wasters from a second kiln, location uncertain, and in the Yorkshire Museum.

³⁹ Excavated by P. Mayes, unpublished. Some pottery is now in Doncaster Museum.

⁴⁰ Wasters from Hull indicate local kilns, as yet unlocated. Information P. Armstrong.

to be the product of a single kiln, perhaps in the Vale of York. This ware would appear to be derived from the earlier smooth and sandy Humber wares, and mirrors the products of other kilns in the Humber basin.⁴¹ Bottles, bowls, jars, jugs and a cream churn are recorded in this ware.

7. *Orange sandy ware* A hard, sandy, bright orange ware, usually with a dull olive green glaze. The ware is quite distinctive but cannot be paralleled in seventeenth-century contexts in East Yorkshire. At Bolton, jugs and handled bowls were noted in this ware.

The groups published below can be considered securely stratified with the exception of C and D, where not all levels were fully recorded, and where intrusive sherds may not have been recognised. The groups are arranged by building order as described above:

A *Chapel, phase 3 construction: Early fourteenth century* (Fig. 15, 1-4)

- 1-2 Jug bases in *smooth Humber ware*. 1 had finger-pulls on the base-angle, 2 has heavy knife-trimming.
- 3 Fragment of jug handle in *smooth Humber ware*, possibly from jug 1 above, with a patchy green-brown glaze.
- 4 Cooking-pot rim in *smooth Humber ware*.

B *Chapel, destruction: Sixteenth-seventeenth century* (Fig. 15, 5-13)

- 5 Jar rim in *sandy Humber ware*, with a yellow-brown glaze inside.
- 6 Lid in *developed Humber ware* with splashes of light green glaze.
- 7 Deep bowl rim in *developed Humber ware* with light green glaze on both surfaces.
- 8 Jar rim in a soft, sandy, smooth, pale orange fabric. A *North Yorkshire* product.
- 9 Plate rim in a softish, brick-orange fabric with decoration in trailed slip beneath a clear lead glaze.
- 10 Body sherd from a deep plate in English tin-glazed earthenware in a softish, slightly sandy, cream paste with underglaze decoration in cobalt blue. Probably *London*.
- 11 Body sherd from a plate in moulded cream earthenware with decoration in orange and brown slip below a clear lead glaze. *Staffordshire*.
- 12-13 Plate rims in cream earthenware with trailed and feathered slip below a clear lead glaze. *Staffordshire*.

C *Building 1, occupation: mid-fourteenth century* (Fig. 16, 14-27)

- 14-16 Cooking-pot-rims in *Staxton-type ware*. 16 has a wheel-thrown applied rim on a coiled body.
- 17 Cooking-pot rim in *off-white sandy ware* with a mottled light green glaze on the rim.
- 18-20 Jug rims in *smooth Humber ware* with light green glaze.
- 21-23 Cooking-pot rims in *smooth Humber ware*, 23 has yellow-brown glaze on the outer surface.
- 24-25 Cooking-pot rims in *sandy Humber ware*. 25 has a white slip overall, and a dark olive green glaze on the rim and inside.
- 26 Jug rim in a hard, slightly sandy, fully oxydised ware, with a rich olive green glaze over vertical applied rouletted strips. *Scarborough ware*.
- 27 Jug rim in a hard, sandy, somewhat overfired purple-grey fabric with a purple-brown glaze on the outside. Possibly a *Raumarsh* product.⁴²

D *Building 2, occupation and destruction: seventeenth-early eighteenth century* (Fig. 16, 28-35; Fig. 17, 36-41)

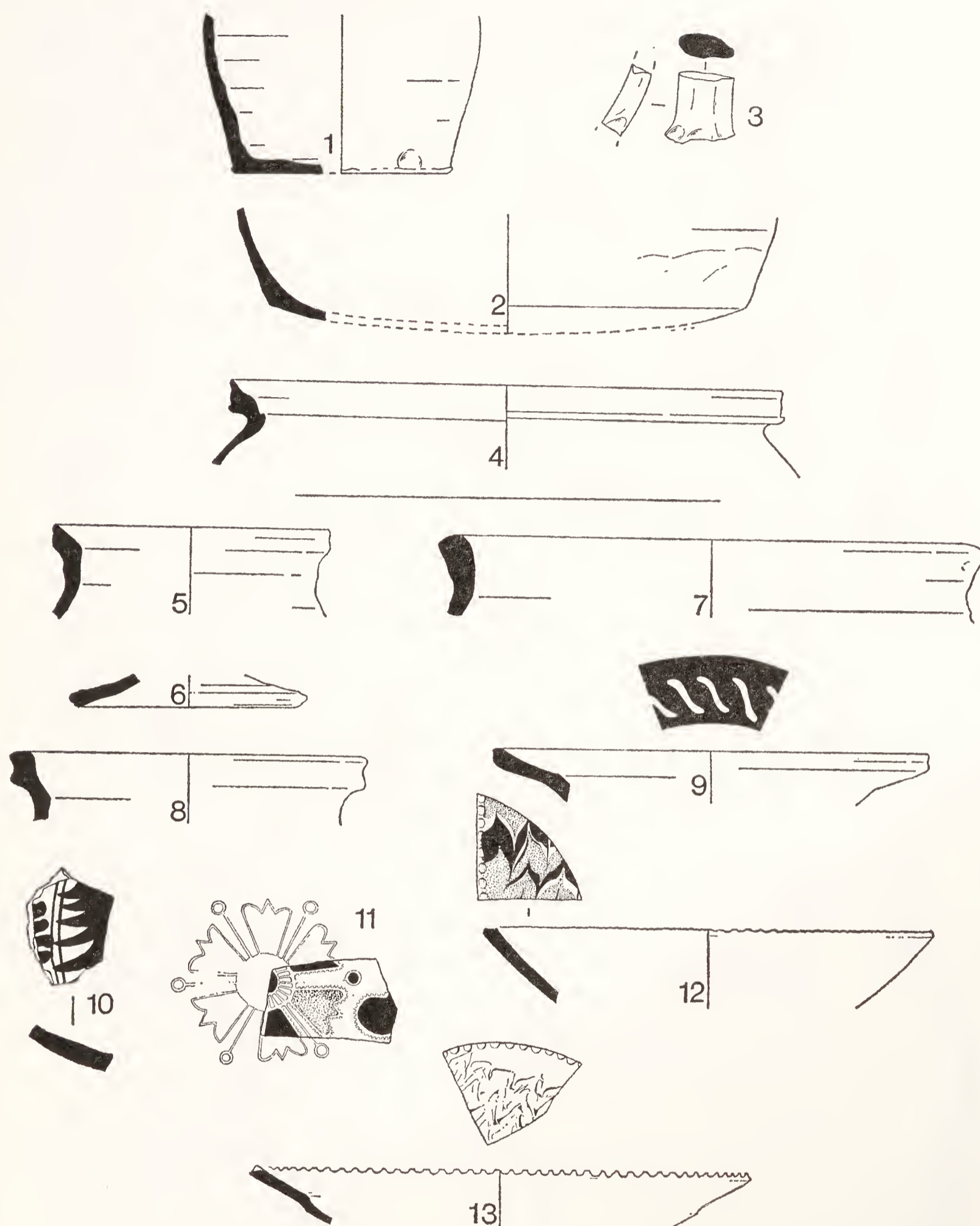
- 28 Upper part of a jug in *developed Humber ware* with a light green glaze. Three fitting sherds, one of which was found amongst the destruction levels of Building 6 and two in Building 2.
- 29 Jug rim in *developed Humber ware* with a yellowish-green glaze on both surfaces.
- 30-33 Bow rims in *developed Humber ware* with yellow-green glaze. 32 has the remains of a horizontal handle on the rim.
- 34-38 Deep bowl rims in *developed Humber ware* with light green or yellow-green glaze.
- 39-40 Rim and base sherds from deep plates in a soft, sandy, pale orange fabric, decorated with trailed white slip below a clear lead glaze.
- 41 Bowl rim in a soft, orange sandy ware with small white inclusions, and green glaze on the inner surface.

E *Building 3, construction and early occupation: early fourteenth century* (Figs. 17-19, 42-96)

- 42 Complete profile of a cooking-pot in *Staxton-type ware*. This form was intended for use on a peat fire, which burned at a lower temperature than a wood fire.
- 43-51 Cooking-pot rims in *Staxton-type ware*.
- 52 Complete profile of a cooking-pot of standard form in *Staxton-type ware*.
- 53 Cooking-pot rim in *Staxton-type ware*. The rim, which is wheel-thrown is applied to a coiled body.
- 54-61 Cooking-pot rims in *Staxton-type ware*.
- 62-66 Cooking-pot rims with 'pie-crust' decoration in *Staxton-type ware*.
- 67 Bowl rim in *Staxton-type ware*.
- 68-70 Cooking-pot rims in *cream gritty ware*.
- 71 Jug rim in *off-white sandy ware* with olive green glaze on the outer surface.
- 72 Sherd from the shoulder of a jug in *off-white sandy ware* with applied pads of iron-rich clay below a light green glaze.

⁴¹ For similar wares in the post-medieval period, see S. Moorhouse in E. Russell *et alii*: "Excavations on the site of the deserted medieval village of Kettleby Thorpe, Lincolnshire", *Journal Scunthorpe Museum Soc.*, Series 3, No. 2 (1974), pp. 22-26.

⁴² Sherds from this kiln-site are in Doncaster Museum.

FIG. 15. Pottery groups A (1-4) and B (5-13), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

- 73 Body sherd of a jug in *off-white sandy ware* with a dark olive green glaze over rouletted decoration.
 74-75 Cooking-pot rims in *off-white sandy ware*.
 76 Body sherd from a cooking-pot in *off-white sandy ware* with the remains of a vertical thumb applied strip.
 77-79 Jug rims in *smooth Humber ware*, all with a thin yellow-green glaze.
 80 Sherd from the shoulder of a jug in *smooth Humber ware* with dull, pale olive green glaze on the outer surface.
 81 Base of a large jug in *smooth Humber ware* with streaks of yellow-green glaze at the waist.
 82 Base of a jug with finger-pulls in *smooth Humber ware*.

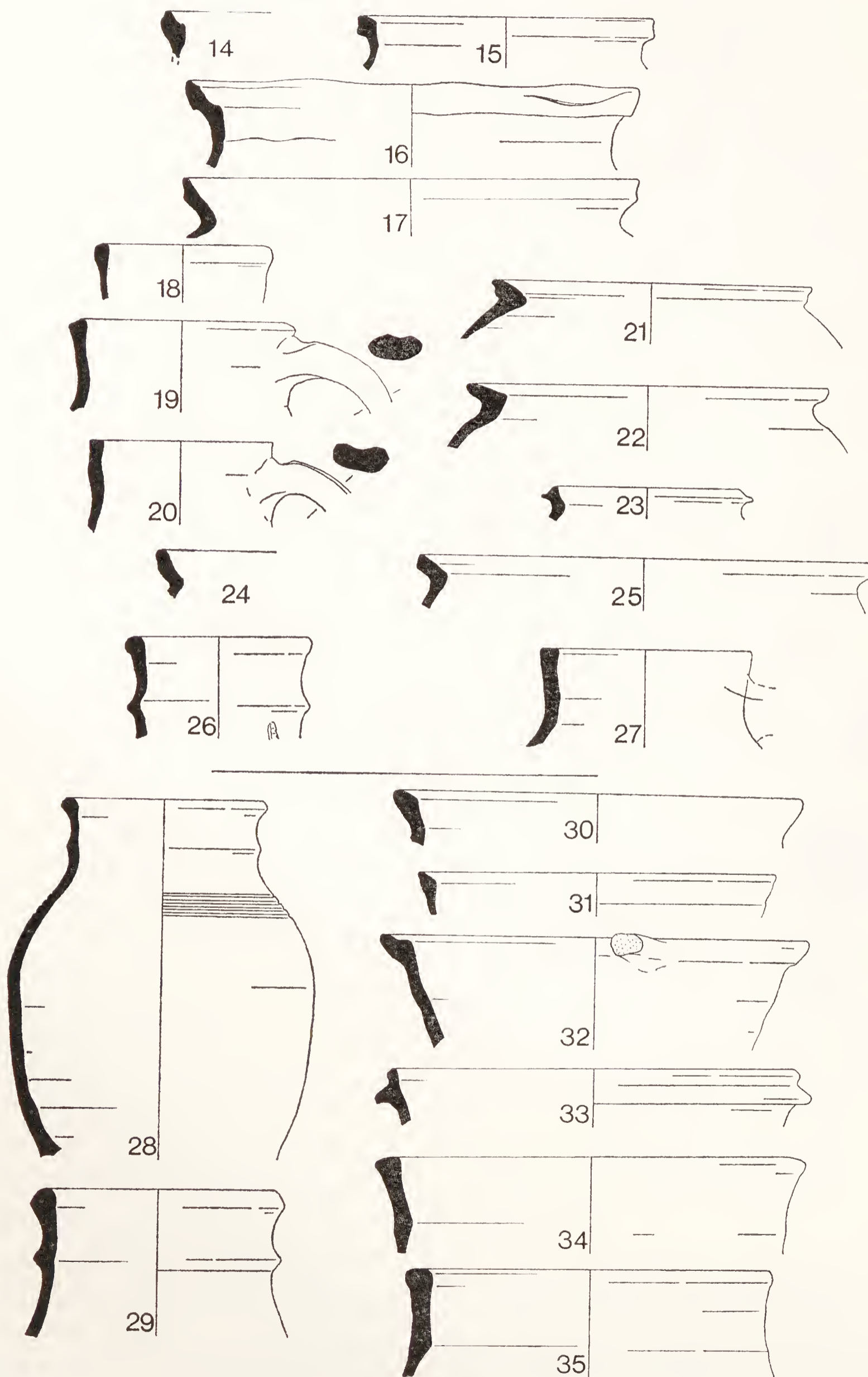
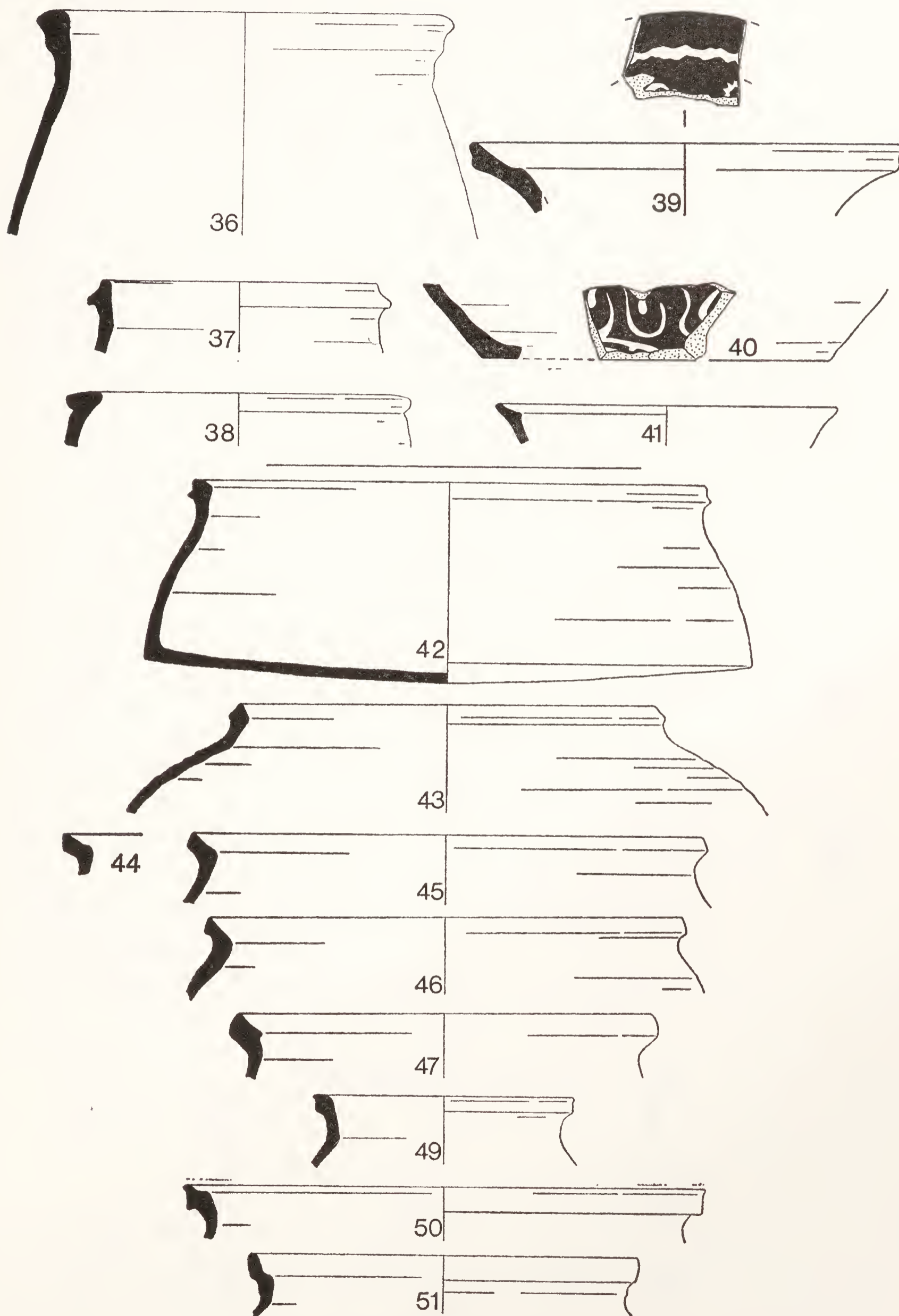


FIG. 16. Pottery groups C (14-27) and D (28-35), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

FIG. 17. Pottery groups D (36-41) and E (42-51), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

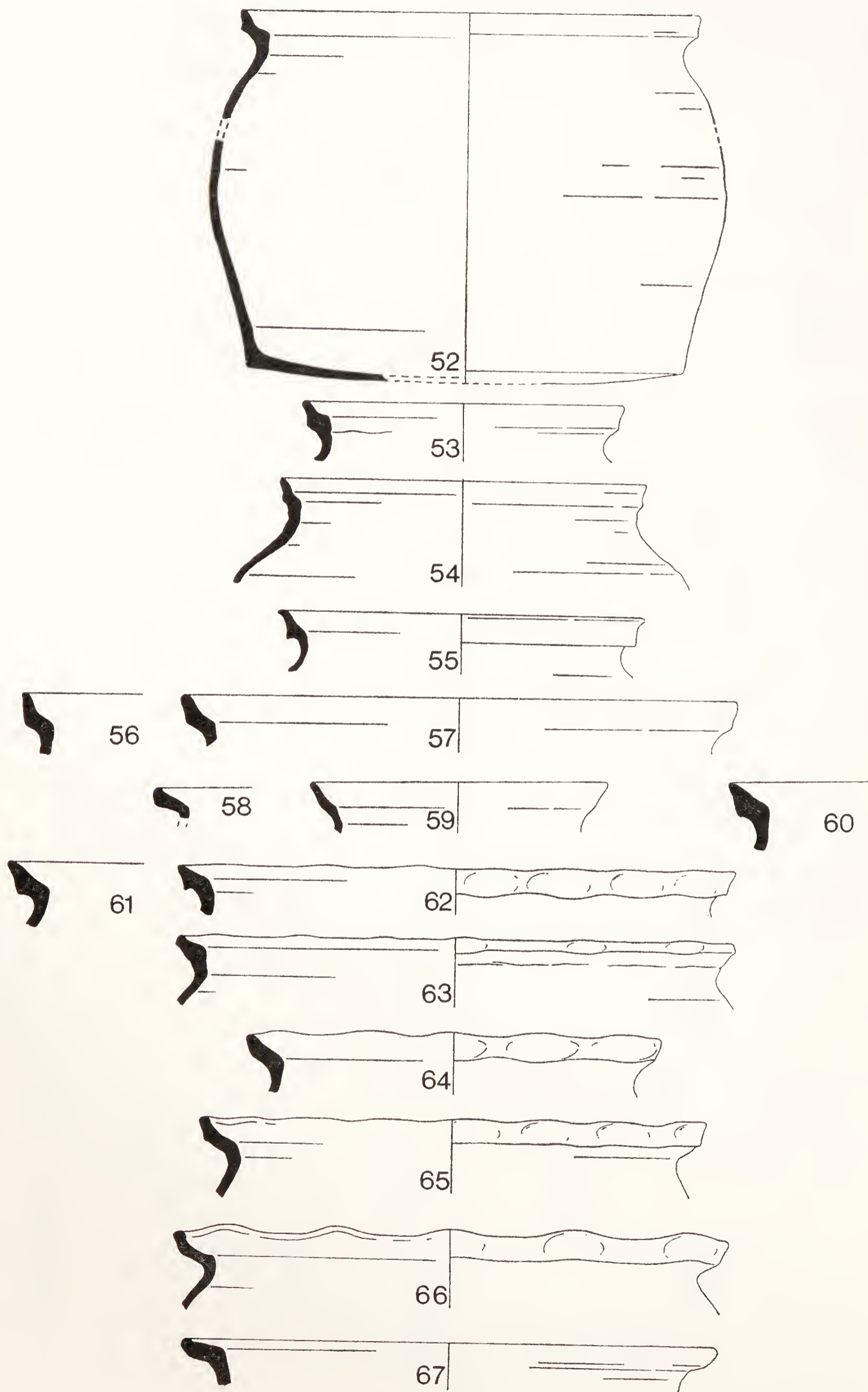
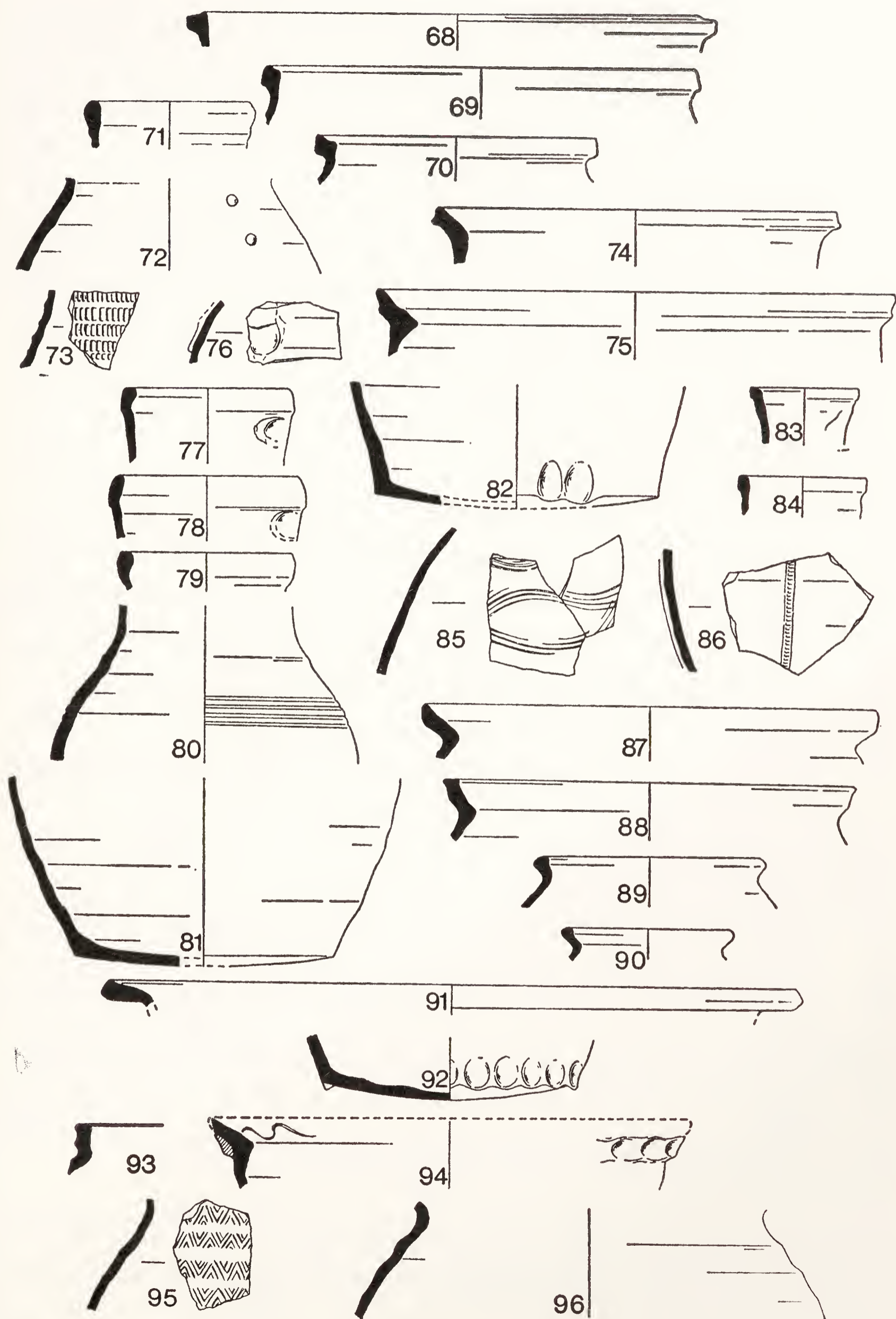


FIG. 18. Pottery group E (52-67), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

FIG. 19. Pottery group E (68-96), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

- 83-84 Drinking-pot rims in *smooth Humber ware*.
- 85 Body sherds (five in all) from a jug in *smooth Humber ware*, with combed decoration below a patchy yellow-green glaze.
- 86 Body sherd (five from same vessel recovered) in *smooth Humber ware*, with applied rouletted vertical strips below a light green glaze.
- 87-90 Cooking-pot rims in *smooth Humber ware*. 89 has a clear lead glaze on the outer surface, 90 has a rich green glaze.
- 91 Bowl rim in *smooth Humber ware* with patches of pale green-yellow glaze on the rim.
- 92 Base of a jug with finger-pulls in *sandy Humber ware*.
- 93 Cooking-pot rim in *sandy Humber ware*, diameter not known.
- 94 Bowl rim in *sandy Humber ware*, with apple-green glaze over incised decoration on the rim and inner surface.
- 95 Sherd from the shoulder of a jug in a soft, sandy, orange ware with a rich, light olive-green glaze over chevron rouletting. A *Winksley* product.⁴³
- 96 Sherd from the shoulder of a cooling pot in orange-brown, soft, shell-tempered ware. A *North Lincolnshire* product.

F *Building 3 occupation: mid-fourteenth century* (Figs. 21 and 22, 97-147)

- 97-115 Cooking-pot rims in *Staxton-type ware*.
- 116-118 Cooking-pot rims with 'pie crust' decoration in *Staxton-type ware*.
- 119-120 Bowl rims in *Staxton-type ware*.
- 121 Profile of cooking-pot to just above the base, in *cream gritty ware*.
- 122-123 Cooking-pot rims in *cream gritty ware*.
- 124-125 Bowl rims in *cream gritty ware*.
- 126 Jug rim in *off-white sandy ware*, unglazed.
- 127-130 Jug rims in *off-white sandy ware* with light or dark olive green glaze on the outer surface.
- 131 Base of jug with finger-pulls in *off-white sandy ware*.
- 132 Cooking-pot rim with the scar of a handle, in *off-white sandy ware*. Diameter not known.
- 133 Cooking-pot rim in *off-white sandy ware*. Diameter not known.
- 134 Bowl rim in *off-white sandy ware*.
- 135-138 Jug rims in *smooth Humber ware*, with glaze varying from yellow-brown to yellow-green on the outer surface.
- 139 Sherd from the shoulder of a jug in *smooth Humber ware*, with a pale green-brown glaze.
- 140 Strap-handle in *smooth Humber ware* with a light green glaze.
- 141 Rod-handle in *smooth Humber ware* with a light green glaze over the ribbing.
- 142 Neck and rod-handle of a drinking-pot of Skipton-on-Swale type in *smooth Humber ware*.⁴⁴
- 143-144 Drinking-pot rims in *smooth Humber ware*.
- 145 Cooking-pot rim with a handle scar, in *sandy Humber ware*.
- 146 Cooking-pot rim in *sandy Humber ware*.
- 147 Jug rim in a hard, slightly sandy, cream-buff fabric with a pale grey core, and with green glaze over a band of rouletting on the shoulder. Possibly a *Brandsby* product.⁴⁵

G *Building 3, demolition: late fourteenth century* (Figs. 23 and 24, 148-186)

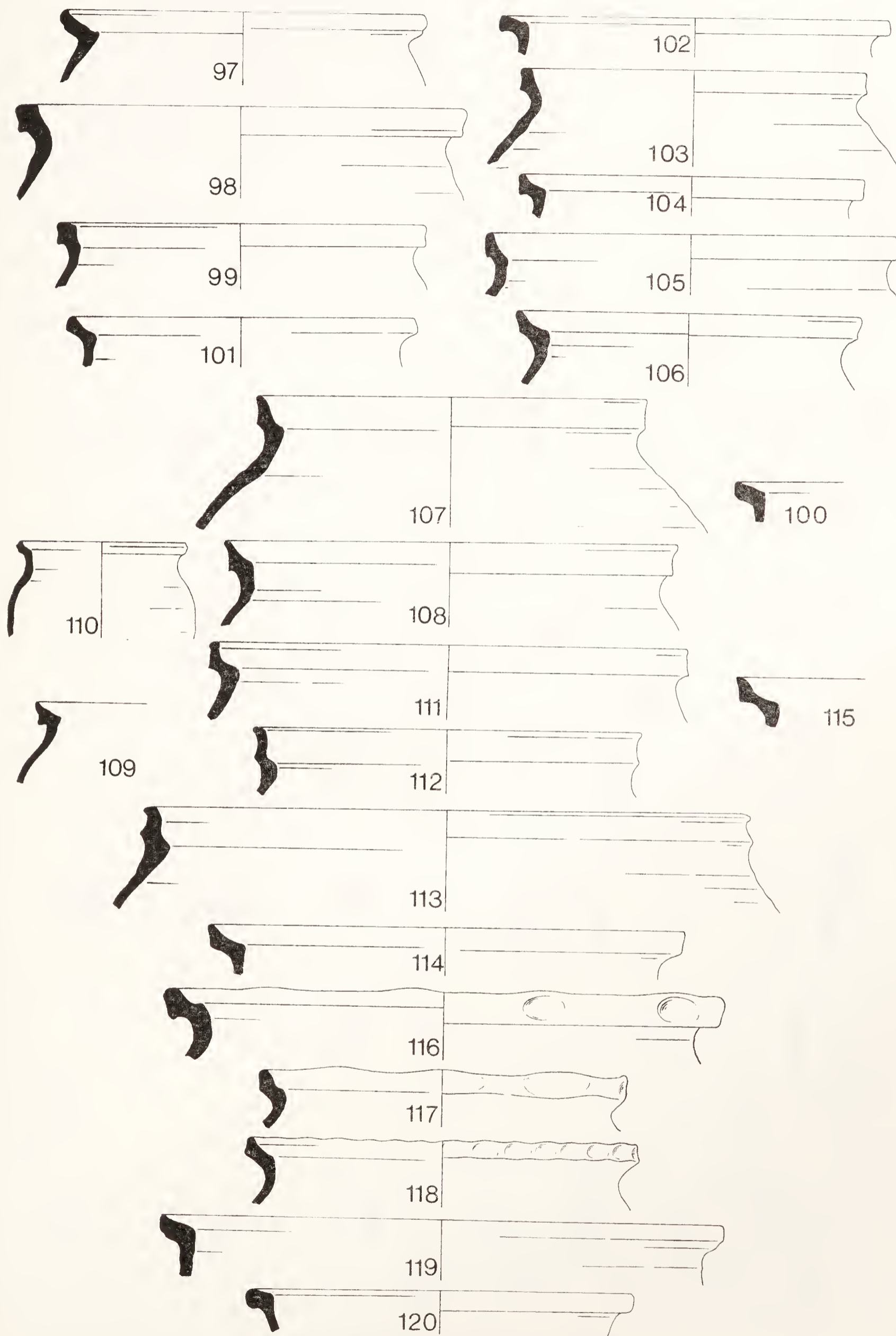
- 148-164 Cooking-pot rims in *Staxton-type ware*.
- 165-166 Cooking-pot rims with 'pie crust' decoration in *Staxton-type ware*.
- 167-168 Cooking-pot rims in *cream gritty ware*.
- 169-170 Jug rims in *off-white sandy ware* with mottled yellow-green glaze.
- 171 Body sherd from a jug in *off-white sandy ware* with iron-rich blobs of slip and vertical combed decoration below a clear lead glaze.⁴⁶
- 172 Body sherd from a jug in *off-white sandy ware* with bands of rouletting below a yellow-green glaze.
- 173 Body sherd from a in *off-white sandy ware* with an applied stamp pad below yellow-green glaze.
- 174 Body sherd from a jug in *off-white sandy ware* with an applied lattice-stamped pad below a green-brown glaze.
- 175-176 Cooking-pot rims in *off-white sandy ware*. There is a patchy yellow-green glaze on the outside of 175.
- 177-180 Jug rims in *smooth Humber ware*, all with a green-brown or yellow-green glaze on the outer surface.
- 181 Base of a jug with single finger-pulls in *smooth Humber ware*.
- 182 Sherd from the shoulder and neck of a jug in *smooth Humber ware*, with yellow-green glaze on the outer surface.
- 183 Moulded body-sherd from a jug in *smooth Humber ware*. The moulded decoration is finished with knife-cuts, and the whole sherd has a light green-brown glaze over the outer surface.
- 184-186 Cooking-pot rims in *sandy Humber ware*. 184 has yellow-brown glaze on the shoulder.

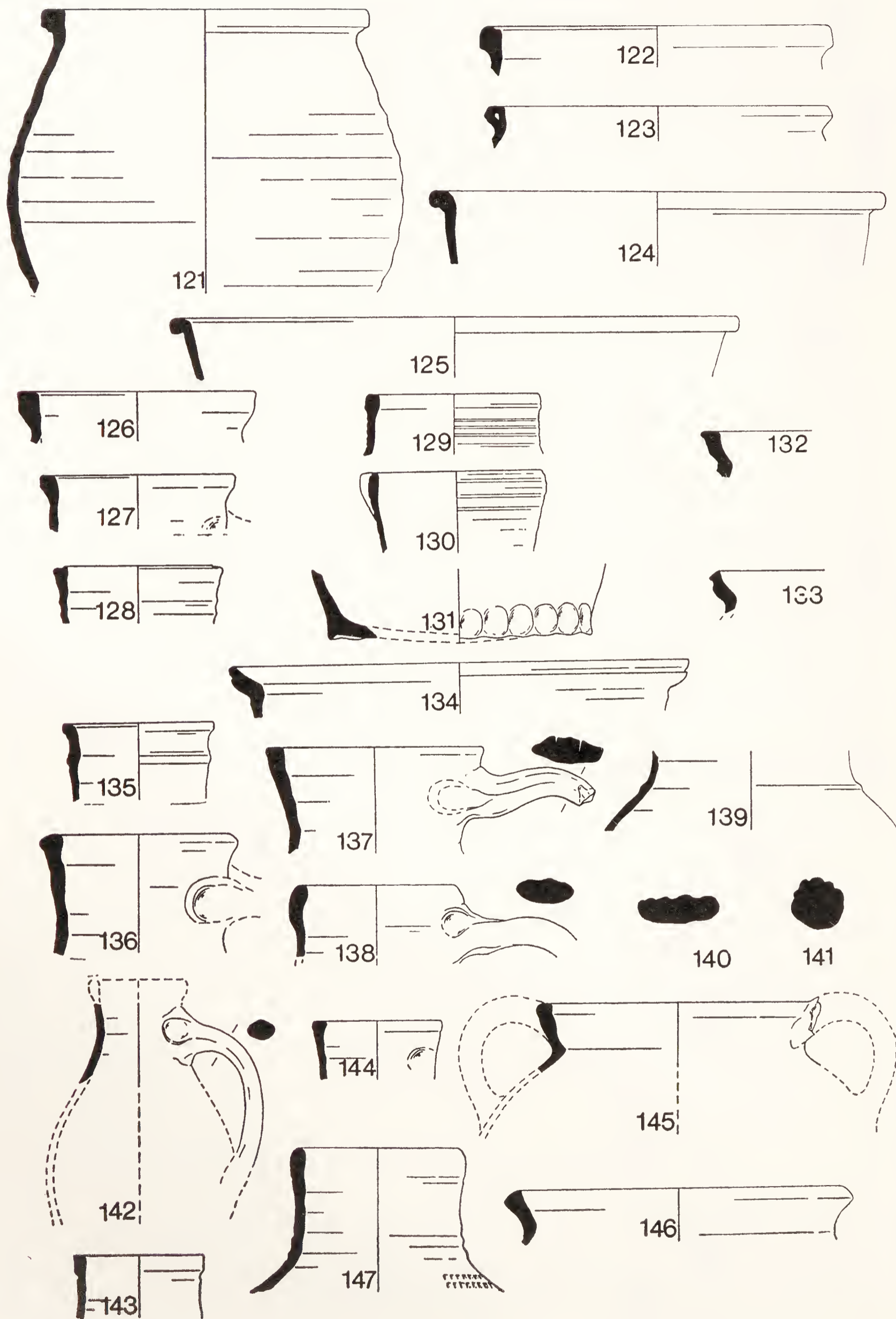
⁴³ C. V. Bellamy and H. E. J. le Patourel: "Four Medieval Pottery Kilns on Woodhouse Farm, Winksley, near Ripon, West Yorkshire," *Med. Archaeol.* 14 (1970), pp. 104-119 and Fig. 25.

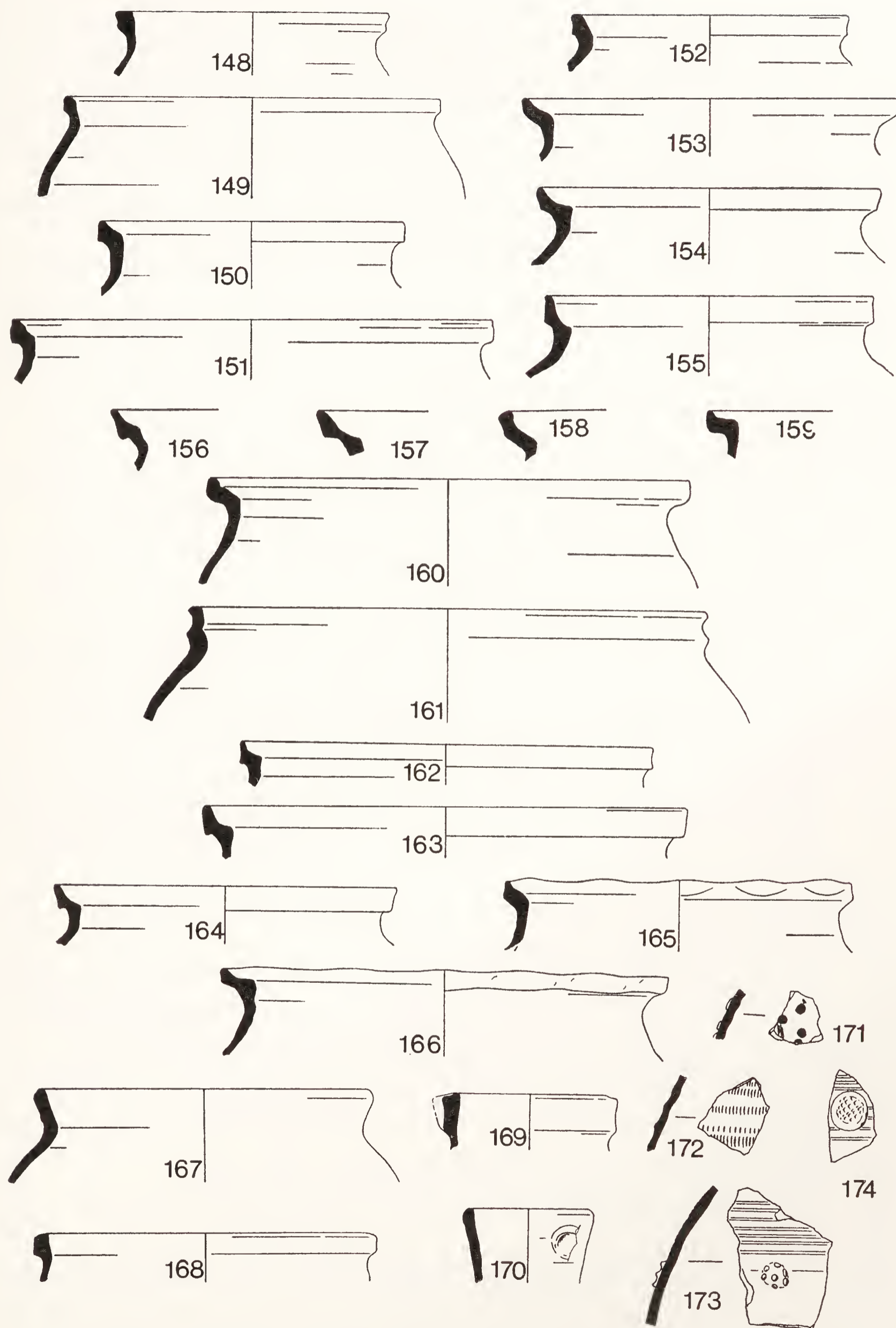
⁴⁴ So called after a vessel of this type found at Skipton-on-Swale which contained a coin-hoard of c. 1399. J. D. A. Thompson: *Inventory of British Coin Hoards* (1956), Pl. IV.

⁴⁵ Identified by Mrs. H. E. J. le Patourel.

⁴⁶ For the form of this vessel see G. Coppack: "The excavation of a Roman and medieval site at Flaxengate, Lincoln", *Lincs. Hist. and Archaeol.* 8 (1973), Fig. 17, p. 116.

FIG. 20. Pottery group F (97-120), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

FIG. 21. Pottery group F (121-147), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

FIG. 22. Pottery group G (148-174), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

H *Hall Garth pit: mid to late fourteenth century* (Fig. 14, 187–198)

- 187 Cooking-pot rim in *Staxton-type ware*. Diameter not known.
- 188 Cooking-pot rim with 'pie crust' decoration in *Staxton-type ware*.
- 189 Jug rim in *off-white sandy ware* with mottled yellow-green glaze.
- 190 Virtually complete jug in *off-white sandy ware* with mottled yellow-green glaze to the waist.
- 191 Eight fitting body sherds from a jug in *off-white sandy ware* with moulded and stamped decoration below a mottled green glaze.
- 192 Body sherd from a jug in *off-white sandy ware* with combed decoration below a patchy yellow-green glaze. Knife-trimmed towards the base.
- 193 Ribbed rod-handle in *off-white sandy ware* with a dark green glaze.
- 194 Drinking-pot, complete when found but now damaged about the rim, in *smooth Humber ware*. The method of attaching the lower end of the handle is clearly demonstrated.
- 195 Strap-handle in *smooth Humber ware* with yellow-green glaze on the upper surface.
- 196 Handle and part of the shoulder of a skillet in *smooth Humber ware* with yellow-brown glaze on the outer surface.
- 197 Cooking-pot rim in *sandy Humber ware*.
- 198 Jug rim in a hard, slightly sandy, orange-brown fabric with a clear lead glaze below the collar rim. *Scarborough ware*.

I *Building 4 occupation: late fourteenth–early fifteenth century* ((Fig. 25, 199–221)

- 199–207 Cooking-pot rims in *Staxton-type ware*.
- 208–210 Bowl rims in *Staxton-type ware*: 208 has unusually coarse tempering.
- 211–213 Jug rims in *off-white sandy ware*. All have splashes of light green or yellow-green glaze.
- 214–215 Jug rims in *smooth Humber ware*, both with green glaze on the outer surface.
- 216 Body sherd from a jug with the lower attachment of a rod-handle in *smooth Humber ware*. The base of the handle attachment is decorated with stabbing below a rich olive green glaze.
- 217–218 Cooking-pot rims in *smooth Humber ware*. 217 has yellow-green glaze on the outer surface.
- 219 Pancheon rim in *smooth Humber ware* with yellow-green glaze on the inner surface.
- 220 Jug rim in *sandy Humber ware* with a dull green-brown glaze on the outer surface.
- 221 Cooking-pot rim in *sandy Humber ware*, diameter not known.

J *Building 6 construction: late sixteenth century* (Fig. 26, 222–229)

- 222 Jug rim in *sandy Humber ware* with a greenish-brown glaze.
- 223 Body sherd from a cistern with an applied spigot-hole in *sandy Humber ware*. The base is heavily knife-trimmed.
- 224–225 Small bowl rims in *developed Humber ware*. Both have a light green glaze on the rim and inner surface.
- 226 Rim of a handled jar in *developed Humber ware* with a light green glaze.
- 227 Base of a straight-sided cup in *developed Humber ware*, with a complicated pattern in white slip below a light green glaze. There is the scar of a single handle.
- 228 Small bowl rim in a hard, slightly sandy brick orange. Fabric with a dull yellow-green glaze on the inside and rim.
- 229 Complete jug in a fully oxydised, hard, sandy, orange fabric which tends to orange purple towards the base. Glazed totally inside, and to 2 cm of the base outside with a clear lead glaze, which has flaked away in places.

K *Building 6 reconstruction: mid seventeenth century* (Fig. 26, 230–235)

- 230–231 Deep bowl rims in *developed Humber ware*. Both have green glaze on the rim and inner surface. The glaze on 231 is misfired.
- 232 Jar rim in *developed Humber ware*, with a rich green glaze.
- 234 Almost complete profile of a small jug or drinking-pot in a hard orange-brown fabric with a thick brown lead glaze over both inner and outer surfaces. *Halifax*.⁴⁷
- 235 Jar rim in a soft, sandy, light orange fabric with a clear lead glaze on the inner surface and the rim.

L *Building 6 final occupation and destruction: seventeenth–early eighteenth century* (Figs. 27–29, 236–282)

- 235 a/b Clay pipe bowls of late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century type; neither is marked. Identical pipes were noted in Group D associated with Building 5.
- 236 Body sherd from a cistern with an applied spigot-hole in *sandy Humber ware*.
- 237 Bottle or flagon, lacking handle, in *developed Humber ware* with a pale green glaze on the outside and inside the neck.
- 238 Jug rim in *developed Humber ware* with a light green glaze.
- 239 Small bowl rim in *developed Humber ware* with a pale yellow-green glaze inside.
- 240 Complete profile of a handled bowl in *developed Humber ware* with a pale green glaze inside and on the rim. Three identical bowls were recovered.⁴⁸
- 241 Smaller bowl, as 240.
- 242 Complete profile of a single-handled deep bowl in *developed Humber ware* with a light green glaze.
- 243 Rim of a deep bowl, perhaps originally with two handles in *developed Humber ware* with a light green glaze.

⁴⁷ For Halifax products in general, see H. Laurence, *Yorkshire pots and potteries* (1974), pp. 183–96.

⁴⁸ A common seventeenth-century form in Yorkshire. A large number in similar fabric were found at Helmsley Castle in Civil War deposits.

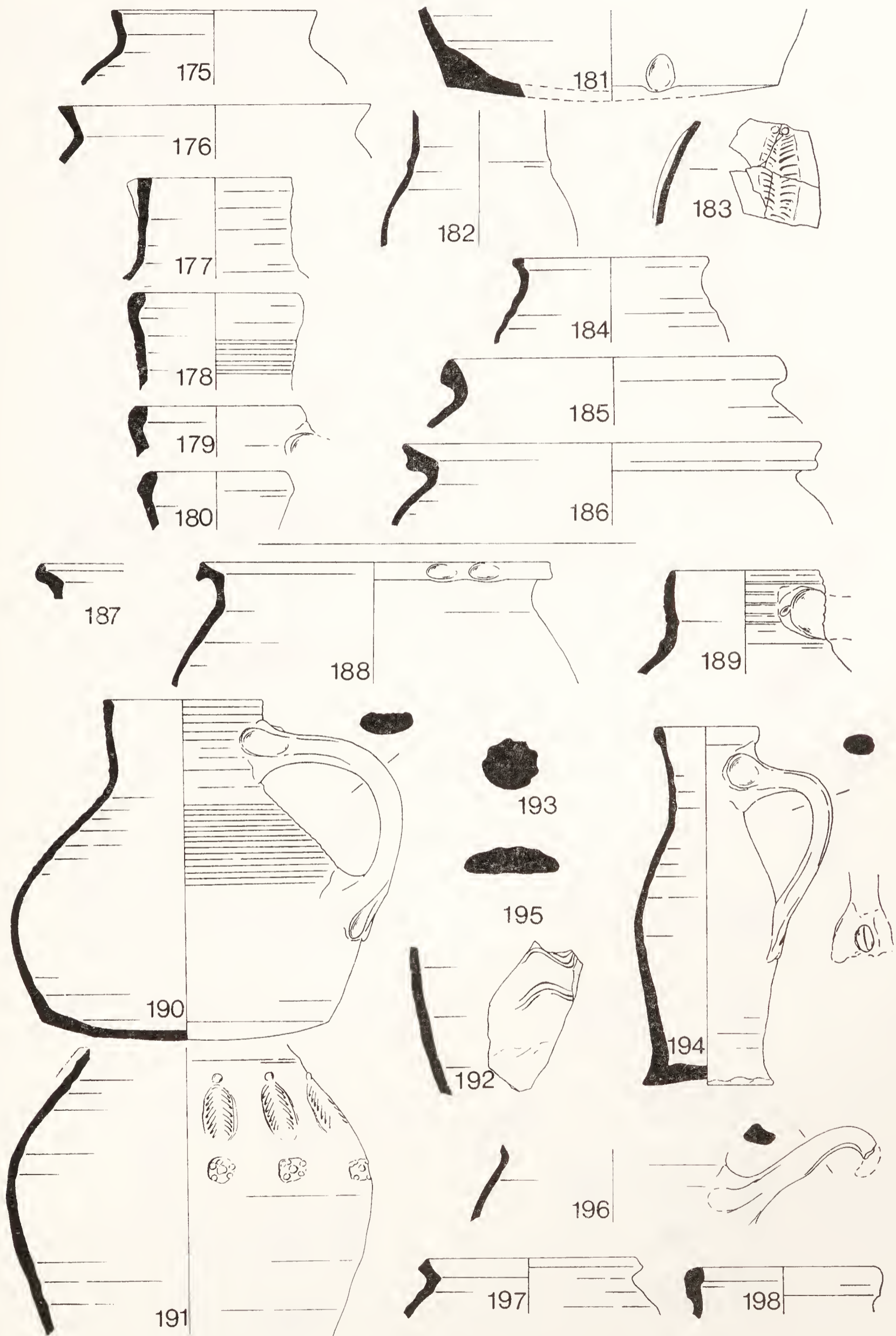


FIG. 23. Pottery groups G (175-186) and H (187-198), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

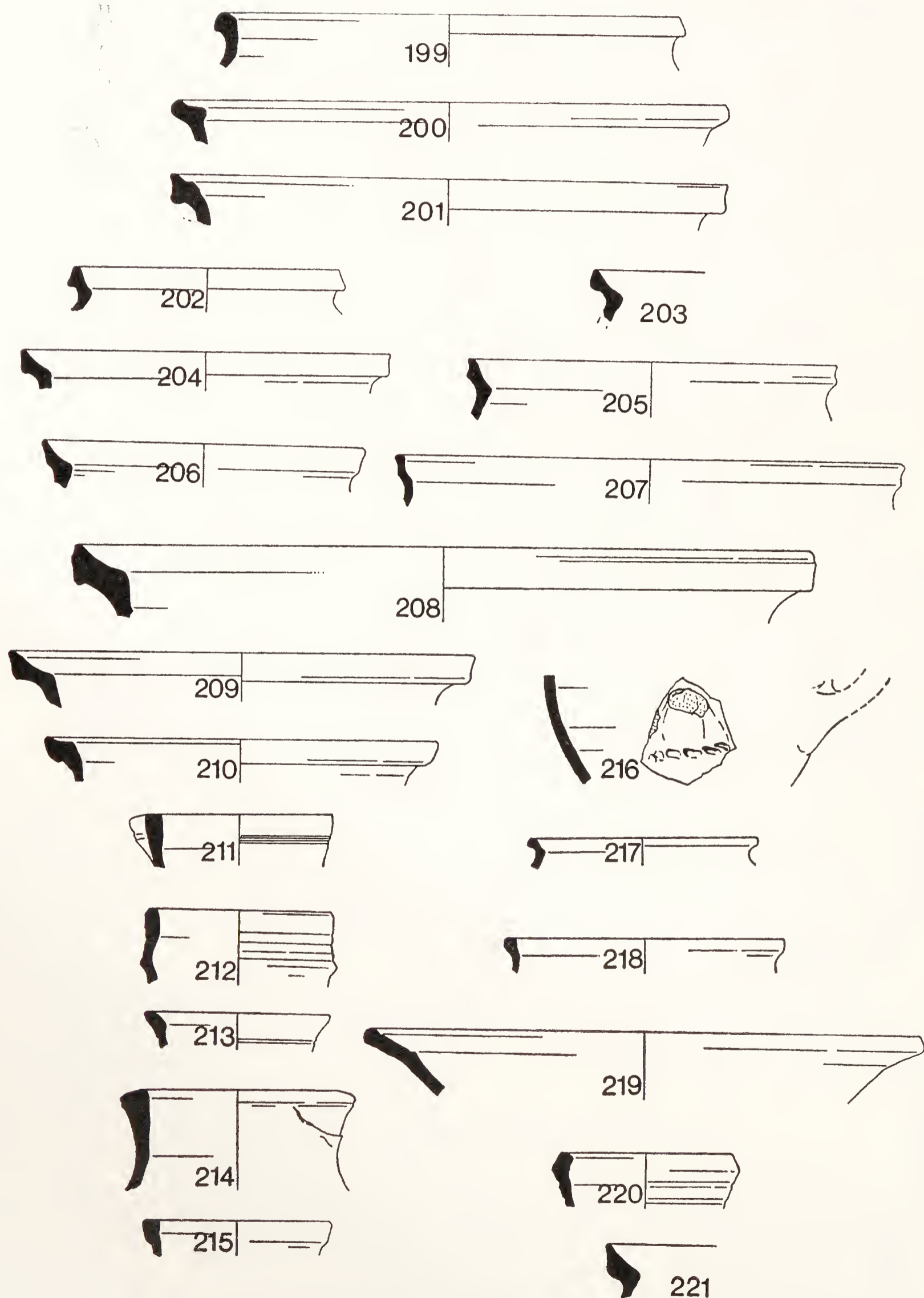
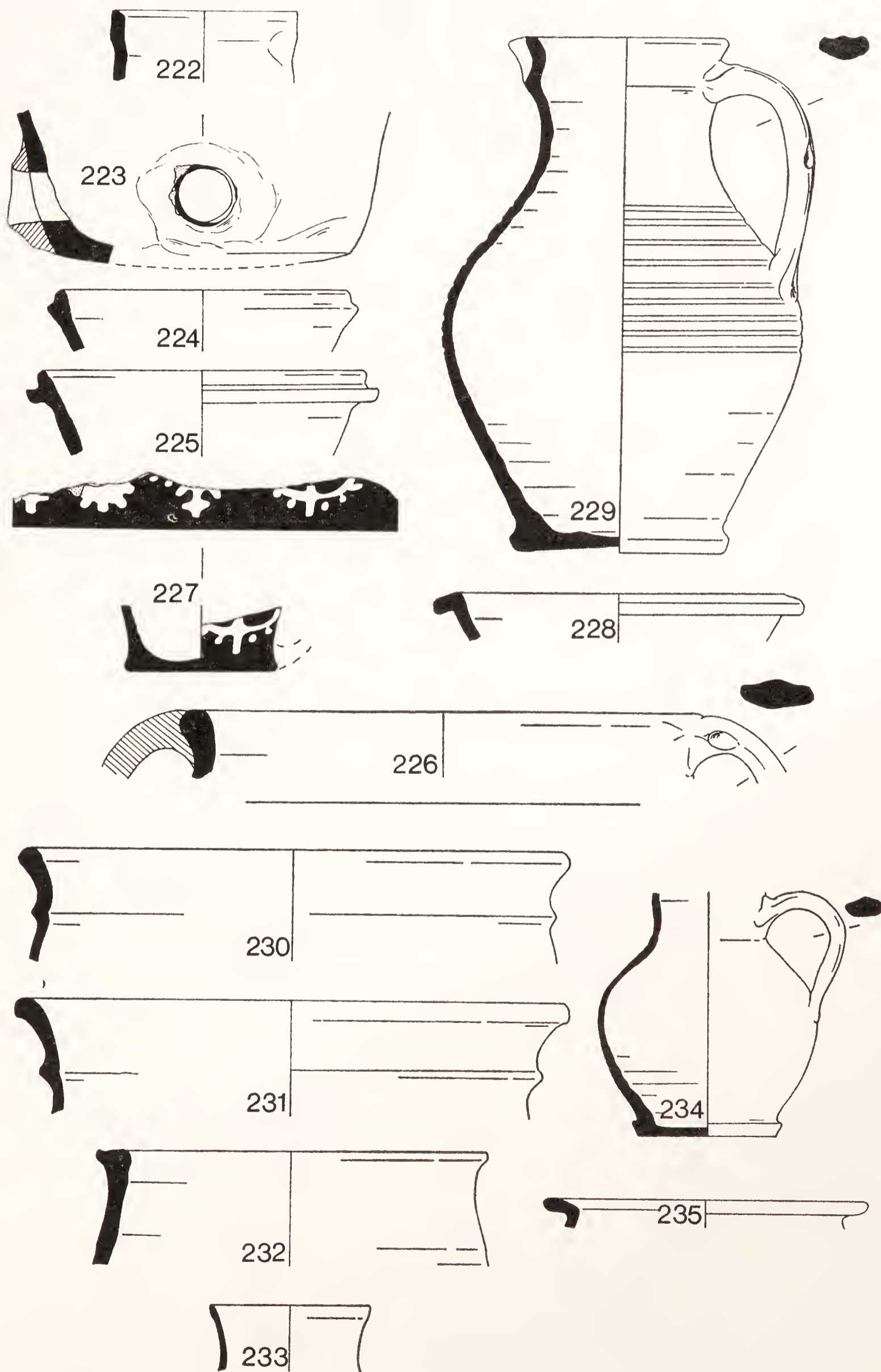


FIG. 24. Pottery group I (187-221), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

FIG. 25. Pottery groups J (222-229) and K (230-235), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

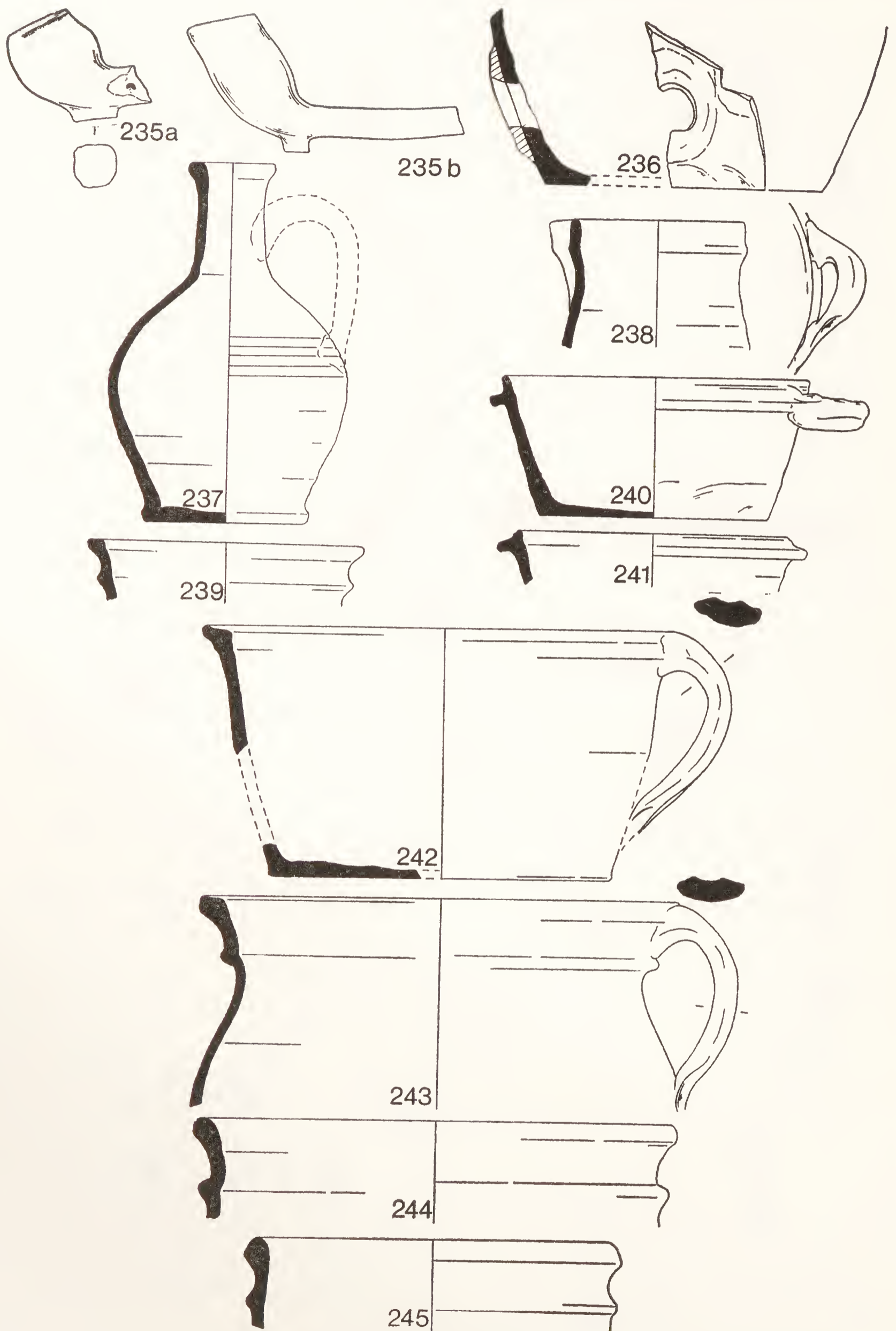
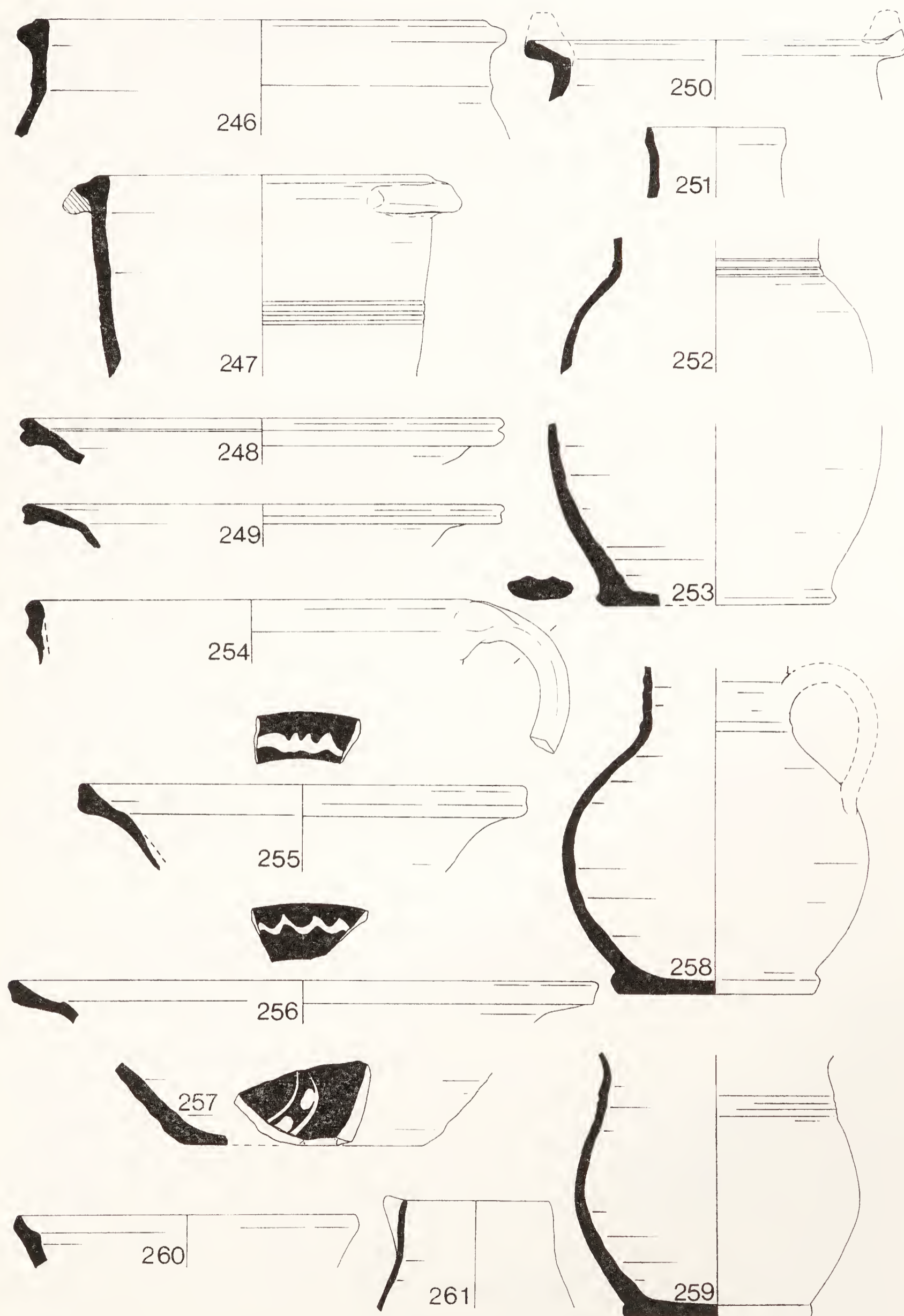


FIG. 26. Pottery group L (236-245), scale $\frac{1}{4}$; Clay pipes (235a,b), scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

FIG. 27. Pottery group L (246-261), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

- 244-246 Rims of deep bowls in *developed Humber ware* with a light green glaze.
 247 Upper part of a butter-churn in *developed Humber ware* with a light green glaze.
 248-249 Plate rims in a soft, sandy, smooth pale orange fabric with a dull, metallic green glaze on the inside. A North Yorkshire product.⁴⁹
 250 Chafing-dish rim, fabric and glaze as 248-249.
 251-253 Rim, shoulder, and base sherds, possibly from the same vessel, in *orange sandy ware* with a crazed olive green glaze.
 254 Rim sherd of a handled bowl in *orange sandy ware* with an olive green glaze.
 255-256 Deep plate rims in a softish brick-orange fabric with decoration in trailed white slip below or clear lead glaze.
 257 Deep plate base, as 255-256.
 258 Almost complete profile of a jug in hard, slightly sandy, orange-purple fabric with a clear lead glaze on both surfaces, which has pooled inside the base. *Halifax*.⁵⁰
 259 Almost complete chamber-pot, as 258. *Halifax*.
 260 Bowl rim as 258. *Halifax*.
 261 Jug rim with a pulled spout in a hard, fine brick-orange ware with a thin, clear lead glaze on both surfaces. *West Yorkshire*.
 262 Complete profile of a flask in *Frechen stoneware*⁵¹ with a face-mask and medallion. Cheese-wire marking on the base.
 263 Neck and rim of a flagon in *Frechen stoneware*.
 264-265 Fragments of face-masks from flagons in *Frechen stoneware*.
 266-267 Applied medallions from flagons in *Frechen stoneware*, 266 depicts the arms of the city of Amsterdam.
 268 Complete profile of a posset-pot in a hard, smooth, pale orange fabric with a white slip on the inner surface and brown slip on the outside. The vessel is decorated in white trailed slip beneath a clear lead glaze. *Staffordshire*.
 269 Small bowl, fabric and glaze as 268. The inner surface is covered with a brown slip which in turn is covered by stripes of white slip. *Staffordshire*.
 270 Jar rim in a slightly sandy cream ware with a clear lead glaze. *Staffordshire*.
 271 Upper part of a globular jug in a hard buff fabric with a streaked brown glaze on both surfaces. *Staffordshire*.
 272 Base of a porringer, fabric and glaze as 271. *Staffordshire*.
 273-275 Bases of tankards, fabric and glaze as 271. *Staffordshire*.
 276 Small lid, fabric and glaze as 271. *Staffordshire*.
 277 Rim of a tankard in *Nottingham stoneware*.
 278 Base of a platter with footring in cream-buff *London tin-glazed earthenware* with an underglaze floral pattern in cobalt blue.
 279 Rim sherd of a deep plate in buff coloured English tin-glazed earthenware. The glaze has burned and no pattern can be traced.
 280 Fitting sherds from a plate in hard, buff *London tin-glazed earthenware*, decorated with crude flowers and concentric circles on cobalt blue, and with swags of cobalt blue and yellow.
 281 Saucer in English tin-glazed earthenware, with no glaze remaining.
 282 Sherd from a bowl or jar in orange-cream *London tin-glazed earthenware* with a 'chinese' design in cobalt blue on the outer surface.
 As well as the illustrated vessels there were several small fragments from an earthenware flask or costrel of Hurst type 3.⁵²

Discussion

The medieval pottery dates from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and provides a valuable guide to the dating and development of local pottery throughout this period. This is especially fortunate in an area where so little medieval pottery is published, and the quantity of pottery available for study here would suggest that it can be accepted as a reliable sample.

The incidence of Staxton-type ware in such quantities is surprising in view of the general distribution of this ware. It predominates in the Vale of Pickering, and is commonly found on the northern and western wolds. A number of vessels are known from Hull⁵³ and Hedon,⁵⁴ but few sherds of Staxton-type ware are found in York.⁵⁵ The distribution throughout the Vale of York is sporadic, but this may only demonstrate the lack of field-

⁴⁹ This ware was found in great quantities in late seventeenth-century deposits at Kirkbymoorside Castle. Information from R. A. H. Williams. The same form, in a slightly different fabric is recorded at Yearsley.

⁵⁰ As note 51.

⁵¹ For Frechen Stoneware bellarmine, see S. Moorhouse: "Finds from Basing House, Hampshire, Pt 1", *Post Med. Archaeol.* 4 (1970), pp. 76-82 and Figs. 21-23.

⁵² J. G. Hurst: "Imported flasks in Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1960-1964", *Publ. Thoresby Soc.* 51, no. 112 (1967), 54-59.

⁵³ Information from P. Armstrong.

⁵⁴ Information from R. A. H. Williams and C. Hayfield. Report in preparation.

⁵⁵ Information from Miss J. Holdsworth.

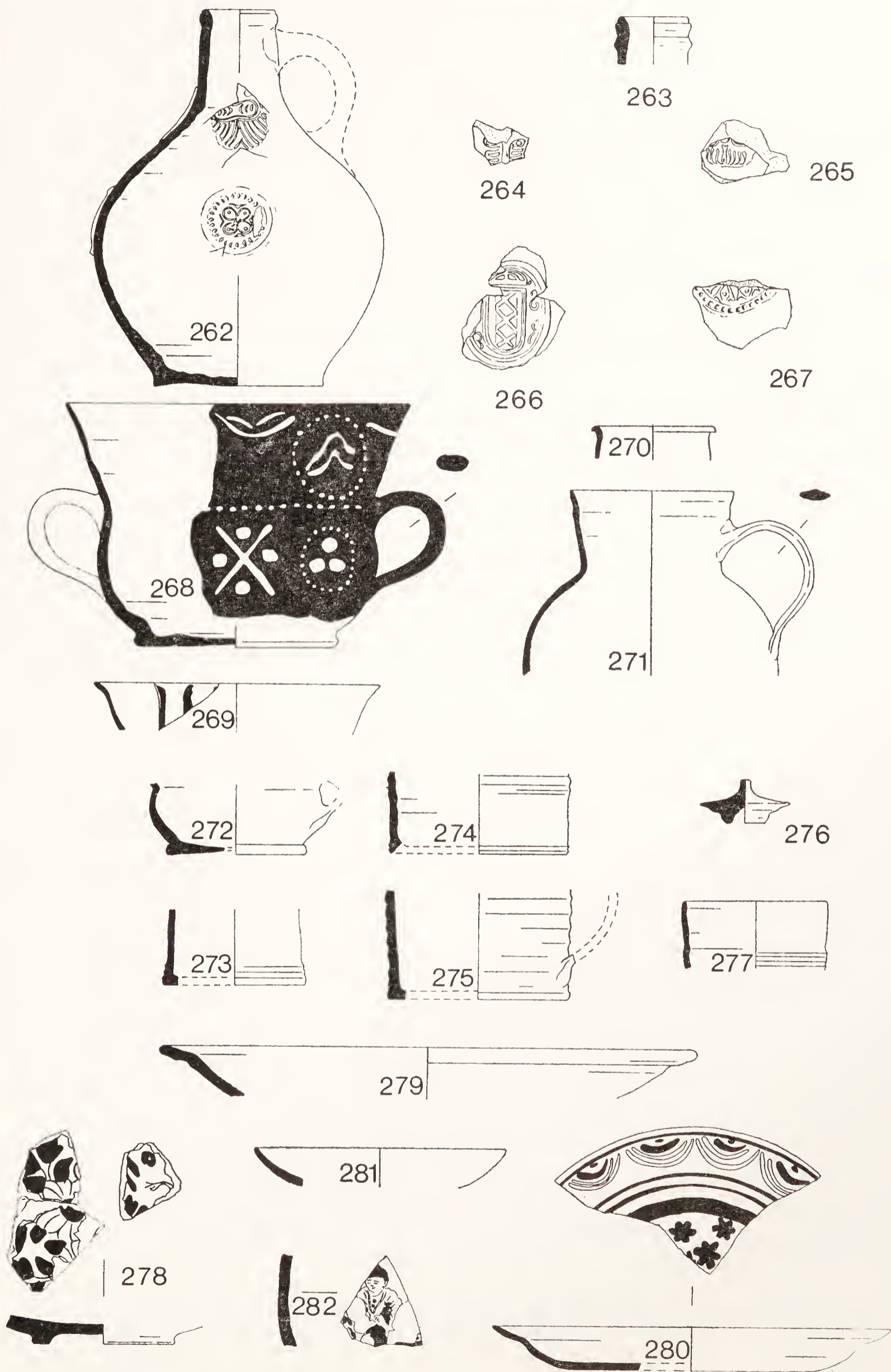


FIG. 28. Pottery group L (262-282), scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

work in this area. It has been thought that this ware did not predominate in areas where the finer Humber wares were easily available, and no satisfactory explanation can be given for the occurrence of so much Staxton-type ware at Bolton, although it comprised at least half of the pottery recovered. The forms represented are typical of the Staxton/Potter Brompton repertoire and show the variety of forms found in contemporary deposits. The groups associated with Buildings 3 and 4 show that there is some evidence for typological development in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, visible as a gradual simplification of rim-form. More remarkable is the date-range of the Staxton-type ware. Square rims such as cooking-pots 42, 49, 98, 99 and 148 are generally thought to belong to the thirteenth century, but are here clearly recorded in early fourteenth-century groups. As there was no earlier occupation on the site this pottery is unlikely to be residual. However, these rim-forms are far from common at Bolton. More typical cooking-pots forms are vessels 52, 66 and 154, which may be more representative of fourteenth-century Staxton-ware types. The groups from Building 3 would suggest that Staxton ware had a longer currency than was previously thought.

It is not surprising to find cream gritty ware at Bolton, as York-produced wares are clearly distributed throughout the Vale of York and onto the western edge of the Wolds.⁵⁶ However, this particular ware was previously thought to date to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in York. Cooking-pot 121 is typical of the York cooking-pots in this ware, and it can hardly be earlier than the early fourteenth century. As it is not an isolated vessel, and sherds occur in the destruction level of Building 3, this ware must have a currency throughout the fourteenth century. As further work is done on excavated medieval groups from York, a more accurate date-range for this fabric may be defined. Cream sandy ware would also appear to be a York fabric, although some sherds vaguely resemble Brandsby products.⁵⁷ Its occurrence at Bolton is not remarkable. The forms are all standard, but it is interesting to note the techniques of decoration.

Combed decoration (jugs 171 and 192) is common in York, but the moulded designs (jug 191) are not. It is worth recording that this type of decoration is also found on Humber ware jugs, both locally (jug 183), at York,⁵⁸ and at Hull.⁵⁹ This type of decoration seems to belong primarily to the second half of the fourteenth century at both of these centres.

The Humber wares from Bolton, which comprise over a fifth of the medieval pottery from the site, are unexceptional and the forms are typical of the Humber basin industries. The general similarity of the bulk of the material would suggest a local kiln source, a suggestion supported by the predominance of an inturned jug rim (*cf* jugs 77–79). A few vessels, such as jug 137, are almost certainly Cowick products. The produce of the West Cowick kilns includes all the vessel-types present at Bolton, and it is fair to assume that this range of forms is typical of other kilns in the Humber basin. The Skipton-on-Swale drinking-pots commonly occur in Humber ware, and range from the late thirteenth century to the fifteenth century at Cowick,⁶⁰ a range not at variance with the Bolton groups. The sandy Humber ware is less common at Bolton, and may represent a different kiln source.

There was remarkably little non-local pottery amongst the medieval groups. Odd vessels from Scarborough, Rawmarsh, Winksley and Brandsby were noted, and only one sherd is really worthy of comment. The site produced two shell-tempered sherds. The first was a local type, associated with the first phase of the chapel, the second was a north Lincolnshire vessel (cooking-pot 96). This falls well outside the known distribution of Lincolnshire shelly wares, and must have been imported as a single vessel.

⁵⁶ Where they are recorded in quantities at Wharram Percy. Information J. G. Hurst.

⁵⁷ The Brandsby kiln material is not yet published, but see C. V. Bellamy and H. E. J. le Patourel: *Med Archaeol.* 14 (1970), p. 114.

⁵⁸ As note 55.

⁵⁹ As note 53.

⁶⁰ Information from P. Mayes.

It is interesting to note the continuation of the Humber ware tradition in the post-medieval groups. Once again, it would seem that the vessel-forms were more or less standardised at all kiln sites, for the same jugs, bowls and bottles are recorded as far apart as Hull⁶¹ and Helmsley.⁶² The developed Humber ware from Bolton would appear to have all come from one production centre. Similar, though not identical, wares are known from York and Hull, and many kiln-sites must await discovery in the Vale of York where suitable clay and sand are available for producing this type of pottery. Sandy Humber ware also seems to persist into the seventeenth century. Associated with the developed Humber ware were sherds of plates and a chafing dish in a fabric which is recorded at Helmsley⁶³ and Kirkbymoorside Castle⁶⁴. It is slightly different from the produce of the Helmsley and Yearsley kilns and can only be ascribed to a North Yorkshire source. Orange sandy ware is also presumed to be of local production apparently from a kiln in the East Riding. Further field-work is needed to identify post-medieval kiln sites in Yorkshire.

The factory-produced wares of the West Riding and Staffordshire are well represented amongst the groups from Buildings 2 and 6 and are not unexpected in such a context. It is worth recording the good quality of all vessels and that they comprise the better quality pieces—jugs, porringers, posset-pots, tankards and chamber pots, and supplement the locally produced developed Humber wares. Many vessels are possibly from the Halifax factories, established in the later seventeenth century.⁶⁵ One sherd from a tankard in Nottingham stoneware was recovered from Building 6. A quantity of Frechen stoneware came from Building 6, but noticeably not from Building 2, and comprised at least seven 'bellarmine' flagons. The distribution of these vessels covers all of eastern and southern England, and they were obviously imported in large numbers throughout the seventeenth century. Those from Bolton all date to the later years of the century with the exception of sherd 266, a medallion with the arms of Amsterdam which had become detached from a flagon, no trace of which was found, and appeared to be residual. Building 6 also produced a number of vessels in English tin-glazed earthenware, dating from the late seventeenth and earliest eighteenth centuries. Only table-wares were present. Where identifiable, pieces were apparently of London manufacture,⁶⁶ and it is likely that all pieces are from the Lambeth kilns. It is interesting to note their occurrence in such a context.

COPPER-ALLOY OBJECTS by Alison R. Goodall (Fig. 29)

- 1-2 Ornamental shoe buckles. No. 1 has the remains of the iron pin which supported the backpiece of the buckle: a buckle with comparable decoration to that on no. 1 is in the Lady Maufe Collection at Kenwood.⁶⁷ Both from Building 5, late seventeenth to eighteenth century.
- 3 Small shoe buckle: the copper-alloy backpiece pivots on an iron pin. From Building 2, seventeenth century.
- 4 Oval ring, possibly a brooch or buckle frame. From Building 6 destruction levels.
- 5-6 Buckle-plates. No. 5 is decorated and inlaid with enamel: from Building 3, Phase 2, mid/late fourteenth century. No. 6 is from Building 5, late seventeenth to eighteenth century.
- 7 Plate with two iron rivets, possibly from a strap-end. Associated with the modification and occupation of Building 3, mid/late fourteenth century.
- 8-14 Buttons. Nos. 8, 13 and 14 are missing the eyes; nos. 9 and 12 are shanks only; no. 10 has the eye brazed on. No. 8 is from occupation levels in Building 6, second half of seventeenth century, no. 9 from Building 5, late seventeenth to eighteenth century, and nos. 10-14 from the destruction levels of Building 6, early eighteenth century. (Nos. 8, 13 and 14 not illustrated.)
- 15 Lozenge-shaped mount: in the centre is a repoussé ring surrounded by overlapping stamped motifs; there is a nail-hole in each corner. A similar stamped motif occurs on a corner mount, probably from a book binding, from Norwich (site 28IN, SF 119). Unstratified in the area of Buildings 4 and 5.
- 16 Semicircular plate with three perforations surrounded by shallow sunken rings. From Building 3, destruction, late fourteenth century.
- 17 Ornamental strip with one pin-hole surviving. From Building 5, late seventeenth to eighteenth century.

⁶¹ As note 53.

⁶² Amongst the pottery from site clearance now stored at the Castle.

⁶³ As note 62.

⁶⁴ Information from R. A. H. Williams.

⁶⁵ As note 47.

⁶⁶ Identified by J. C. Thorn.

⁶⁷ B. and T. Hughes, *Georgian Shoe Buckles* (London, 1972), Pl. 4, lower centre.

- 18 Fragment with one edge indented and perforated: possibly a binding. From Building 6 occupation levels, second half of seventeenth century.
- 19 Book clasp with remains of strap at the back secured by a rivet: the surface is gilt and decorated with rocked-tracer lines. From occupation levels in Building 6, second half of the seventeenth century.
- 20 Large oval spoon bowl with remains of the handle brazed or soldered on. From Building 6, partition wall, mid seventeenth century.
- 21-22 Vessel rim fragments, both from Building 6 destruction levels.
- 23-24 Sheet fragments with one edge rolled: possibly vessel rims. No. 23 from the destruction levels of Building 6, early eighteenth century, no. 24 from Building 6 occupation levels, second half of seventeenth century.
- 26 Sheet with two rivet-holes and the remains of a third; possibly from a strap-end. From the destruction levels of Building 6.

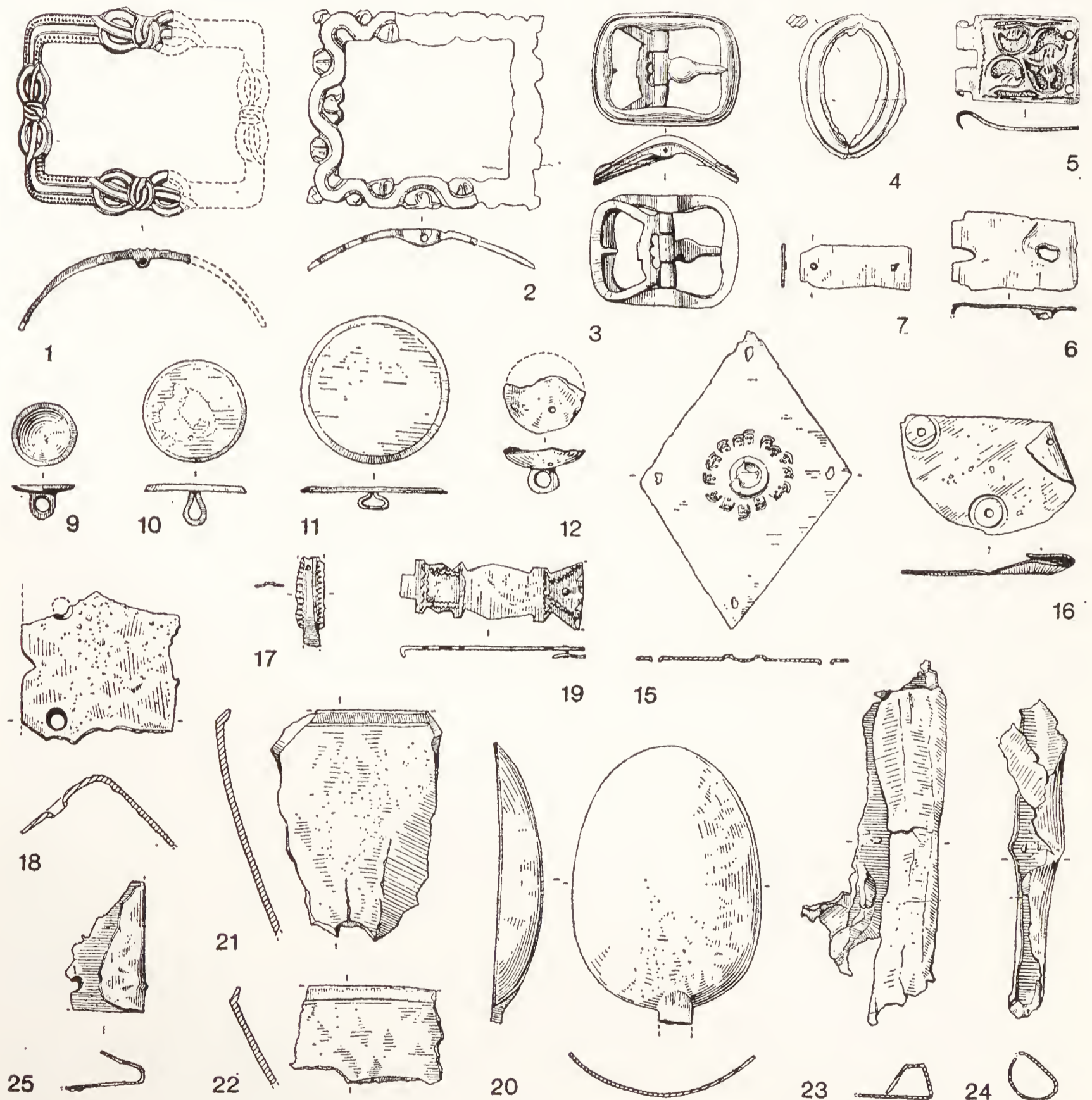


FIG. 29. Copper alloy objects, scale $\frac{1}{2}$.

IRON OBJECTS by Ian H. Goodall (Figs. 30-33)

The iron objects have been described in groups by building. Most have been X-rayed. The nails will be published in a later volume of the journal.

Building 2

The knife, 1, has a scale tang and circular section bolster. 2-7, which relate to the structure or fittings of the building, are a key, two hinge pivots, pinned butterfly hinge, angle tie and wallhook. 8 is a handle with non-ferrous

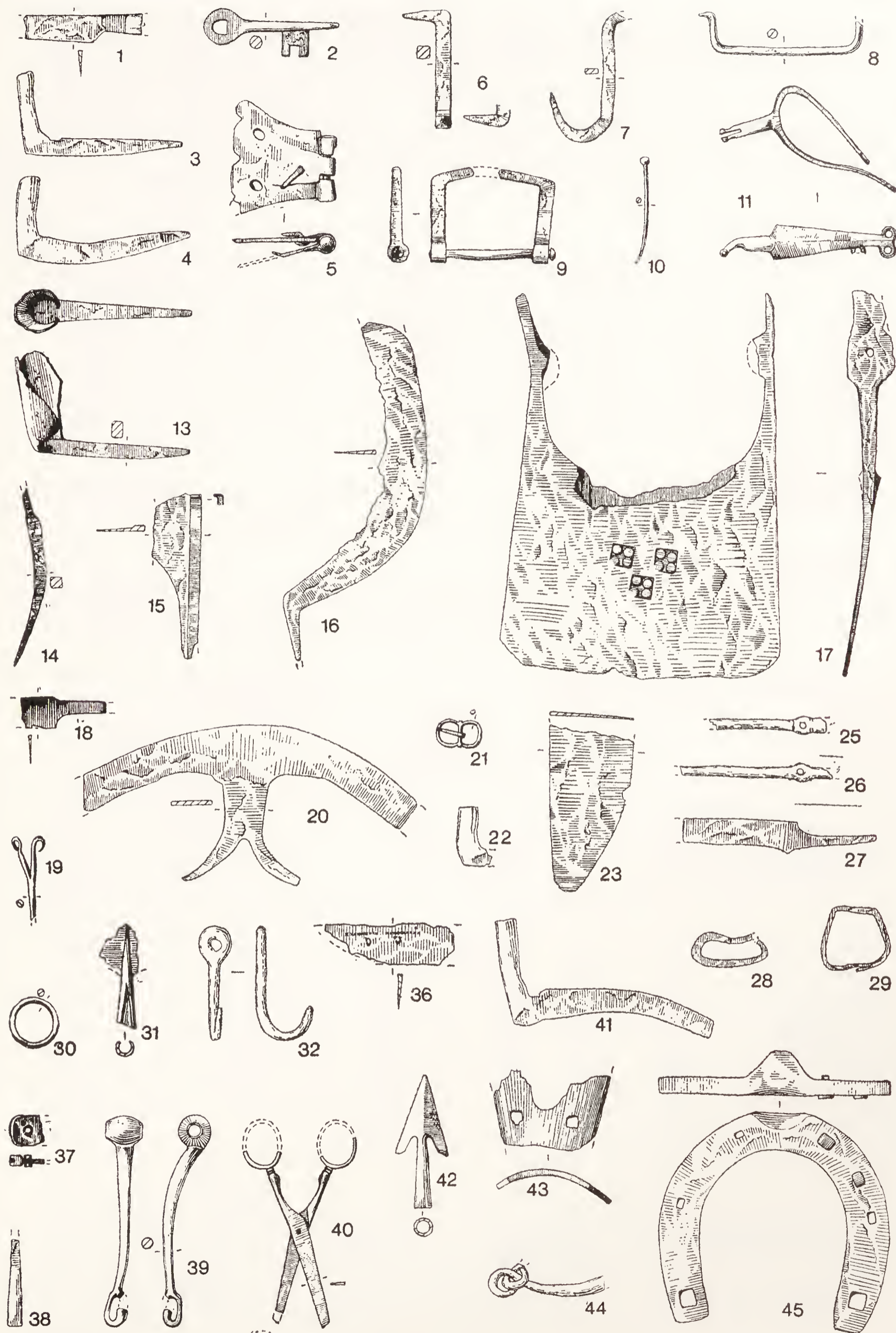
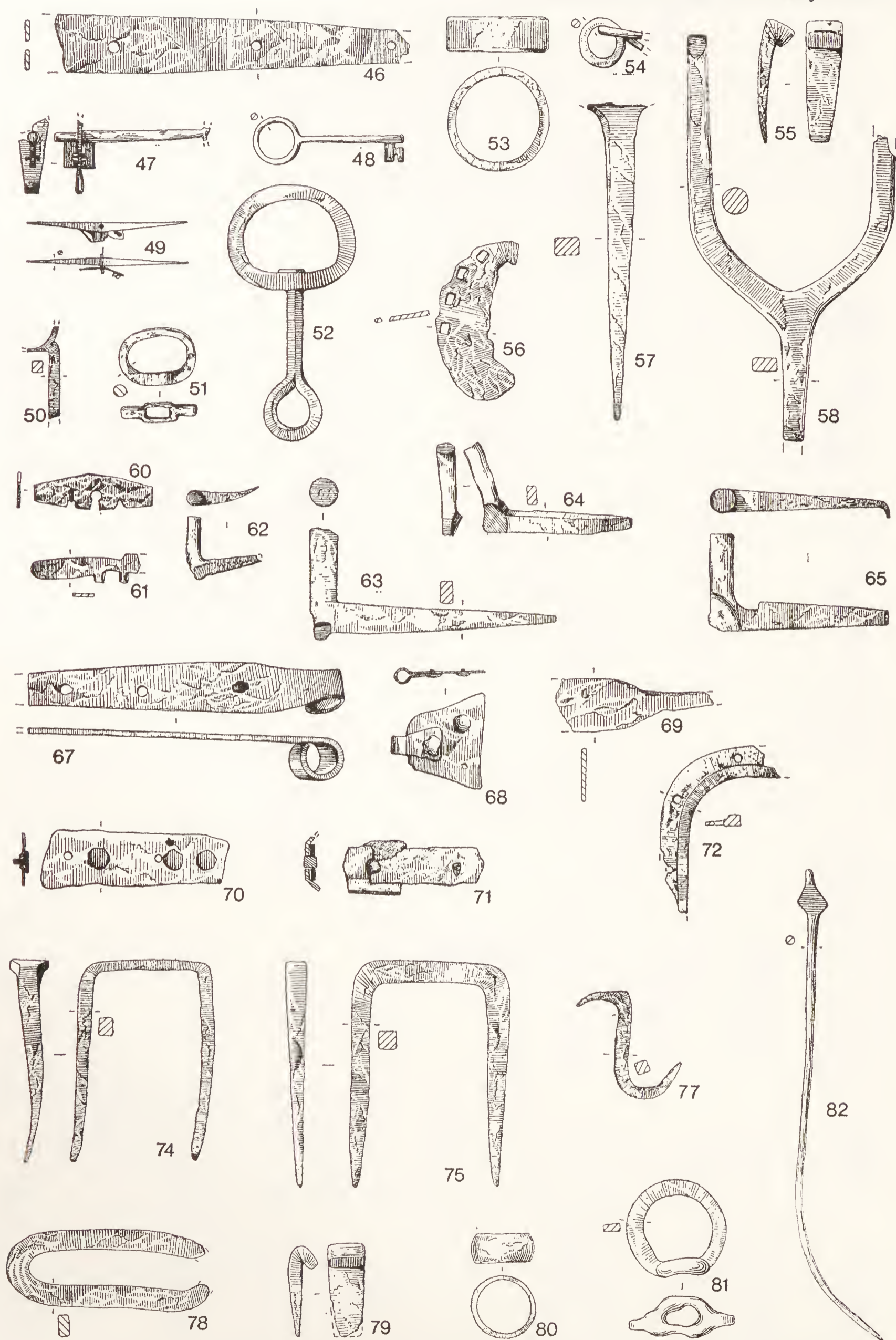


FIG. 30. Iron objects from Buildings 2-5, scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

FIG. 31. Iron objects from Building 6, scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

plating. 9, a buckle from the topsoil over the yard of Building 2, is broken and has a swivelling bar; 10 is a pin. Items of horse furniture (11–12) are a rowel spur and horseshoe. The spur has a distorted body, straight sides, *figure-eight* terminals and a straight neck with empty downturned rowel box. The horseshoe (not illustrated), similar to 115, is 141 mm wide, 129 mm long with a worn toe and four nailholes set in a fullered groove in each arm. 13 is a candleholder with damaged socket. The tools 14–17 comprise a rake prong, scythe, sickle and spade iron. The rake prong stem, now broken, originally penetrated the wooden frame of the rake and had a clenched tip; similar rake and harrow prongs are known from other British as well as colonial sites.⁶⁸ The scythe and sickle are incomplete and the stamped spade iron has a groove for the wooden blade and side arms with lugs perforated for nails. Comparable sixteenth- and seventeenth-century spade irons are known from Chingley Forge, Kent, Bolingbroke Castle, Lincs. and elsewhere.⁶⁹

Building 3

Objects 18–24 belong to the construction and early occupation of the building in the early fourteenth century. 18 is a whittle tang knife, 19 a slender forked object and 20 part of the ring of a tripod or brandreth, its forked inner bar being identical to that on a brandreth from Cambokeels, Co. Durham.⁷⁰ The buckle, 21, is gently curved in side view and has non-ferrous plating. 22 is the guide arm of a hinge pivot, 23 the tip of a scythe blade. Horseshoe arm 24 has a plain edge, three rectangular nailholes and is 132 mm long.

25–35 come from contexts related to the mid fourteenth-century modification and occupation of the building. 25–6 are two fragments of binding strip with decorative mouldings and non-ferrous plating, 27 is a whittle tang knife and 28–9 two buckles, the latter with non-ferrous plating. 30 is a ring, 31 a socketed arrowhead with incomplete blade and 32 a looped hook. Horseshoe fragments 33–5 (not illustrated) have countersunk nailholes and slightly wavy edges; the largest, 96 mm long, is an incomplete arm with two nailholes. 36, a knife blade fragment with inlaid cutler's marks and decoration, belongs to the late fourteenth-century end of occupation and destruction of Building 3.

Building 4

37–9 are a knife handle tip, socketed arrowhead and bridle bit mouthpiece link. The knife handle comes from a scale tang knife and has a copper alloy end cap and hole lining.

Building 5

40–5 are scissors, a hinge pivot, socketed and barbed arrowhead, sheet fragment, bridle bit mouthpiece and horseshoe. The scissors, from topsoil, have moulded stems and centrally-set finger loops. The horseshoe has a toe clip but the irregularly-spaced nailholes and holes in both arm tips suggest that it may be surgical. The end holes may have been intended to enable the shoe to be partly strapped to the hoof.

Building 6

Building 6 produced a large number of iron objects, many amongst the burnt destruction debris, and they are described in their associated groups.

46, a broken tapering hinge strap, is from the construction of the building, *c.* 1600, whilst 47–57 belong to its occupation after rebuilding, *c.* 1640/50–1700. 47 is a key with the ward plate from a lock corroded within its bit. The key has lost its bow and the incomplete plate has projecting wards which the bit is shaped to pass. The ward plate may be compared with two from Chingley Forge, Kent.⁷¹ Key 48 has a ring bow and solid stem. 49 is the back rib of a folding knife with a riveted metal side scale, 50 a scissor arm with offset finger loop. 51–4 are a series of fittings, namely a swivel ring, swivel ring and loop, collar and a ring and chain link, the ring with heavy copper alloy staining. 55 is a small wedge with downturned head. 56 is an oxshoe with a clip, 57 possibly the tang of a hoe, 58 a pitchfork.

59–99 come from the early eighteenth-century destruction of the building. The location of the objects among the debris is as follows. 78: N. end, upper bay; 62, 89: within N. bay; 63, 67, 71–3, 76, 80, 83–6, 90–1, 93, 95–6, 98–9: inside E. door and lying with it; 75: over above in E. wall area; 59–60, 77, 81, 92: inside S. wall face; 88: inside S.W. corner; 61, 64–5: S.W. corner; 66: immediately outside S.E. angle; 70: S. wall of outshot and immediately within; 68–9, 74, 79, 82, 87, 94, 97: ? roofing debris.

59 (not illustrated) is a folding knife with back rib like 50. 60–1 are parts of locks, 60 a ward plate similar to 47, 61 an incomplete toothed bolt whose position in a lock can be seen by comparison with a complete lock from the Castle Moat, Oxford.⁷² Fittings from doors, windows or furnishings are hinge pivots 62–6 and hinges and straps 67–73. The pivots vary in size, 66 (not illustrated) being 63 by 114 mm and having a clenched tip like 65. Hinge 67 may have carried an external door but the single leaf from a double leaf butterfly hinge, 68, is likely to have held a less substantial door. 69–71 are miscellaneous lengths of strap but the curved strap with back rib, 72, and an identical piece, 73 (not illustrated; one arm complete, 142 mm long) may be compared with other similarly distinctive pieces from other post-medieval sites.⁷³ 74 and 75 are rectangular staples, 75 from close to the E. door and perhaps its bolt keeper. 76 (not illustrated) is identical to 111. Other fittings 77–81 are a wallhook, chain link, small wedge, collar and swivel ring. The wedge with its downturned head is one of several mainly from around

⁶⁸ Ian H. Goodall in E. Russell *et alii*, *op. cit.* in note 41, p. 34, fig. 19, p. 35.

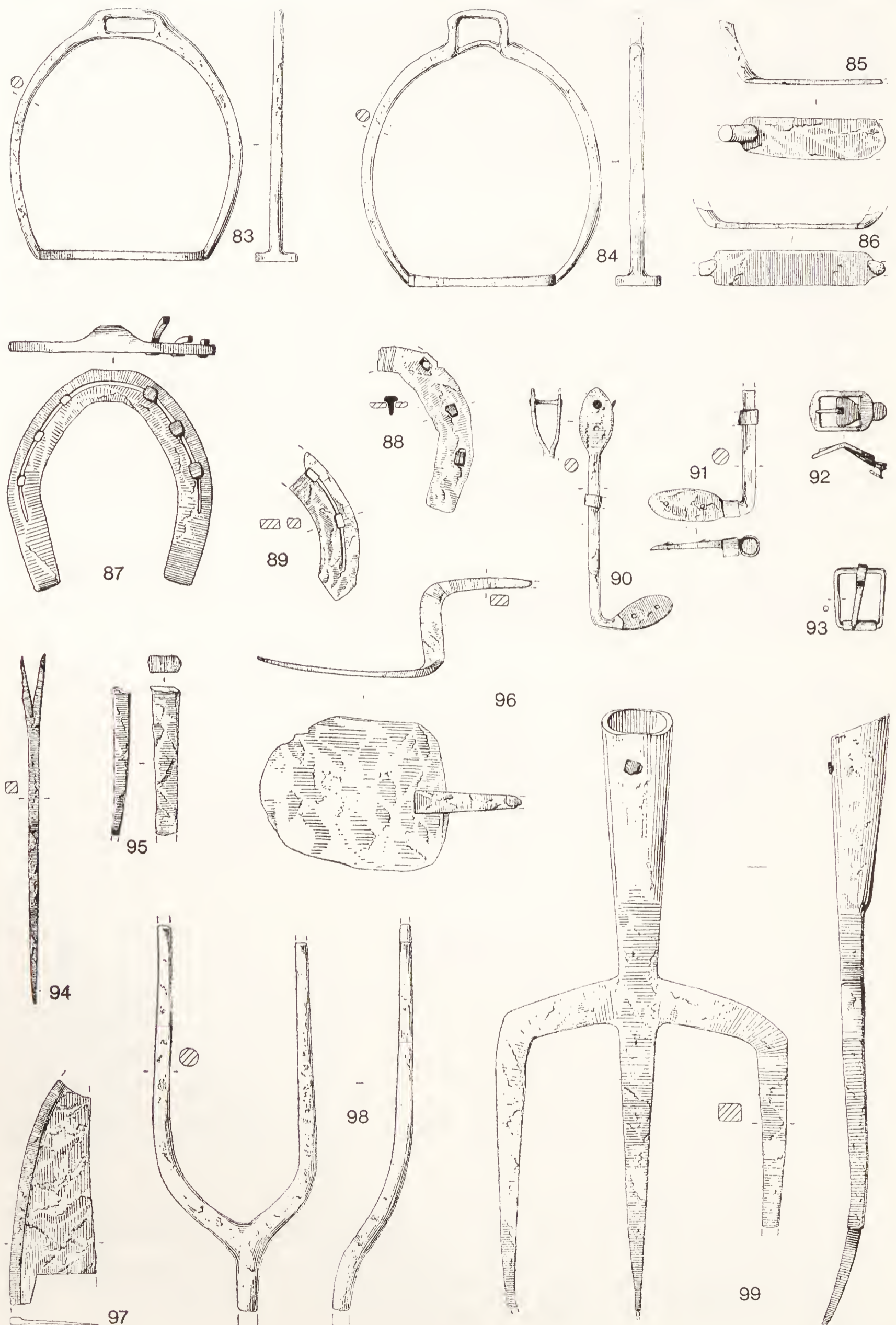
⁶⁹ Ian H. Goodall in David Crossley, *The Bewl Valley Ironworks, Kent, c. 1300–1730* (R.A.I. monograph, 1975), p. 68, fig. 33, p. 67; Ian H. Goodall in Peter Drewett, "The Excavation of the Great Hall at Bolingbroke Castle, Lincolnshire, 1973", *Post-Medieval Archaeol.* 10 (1976), p. 29, fig. 14, p. 34.

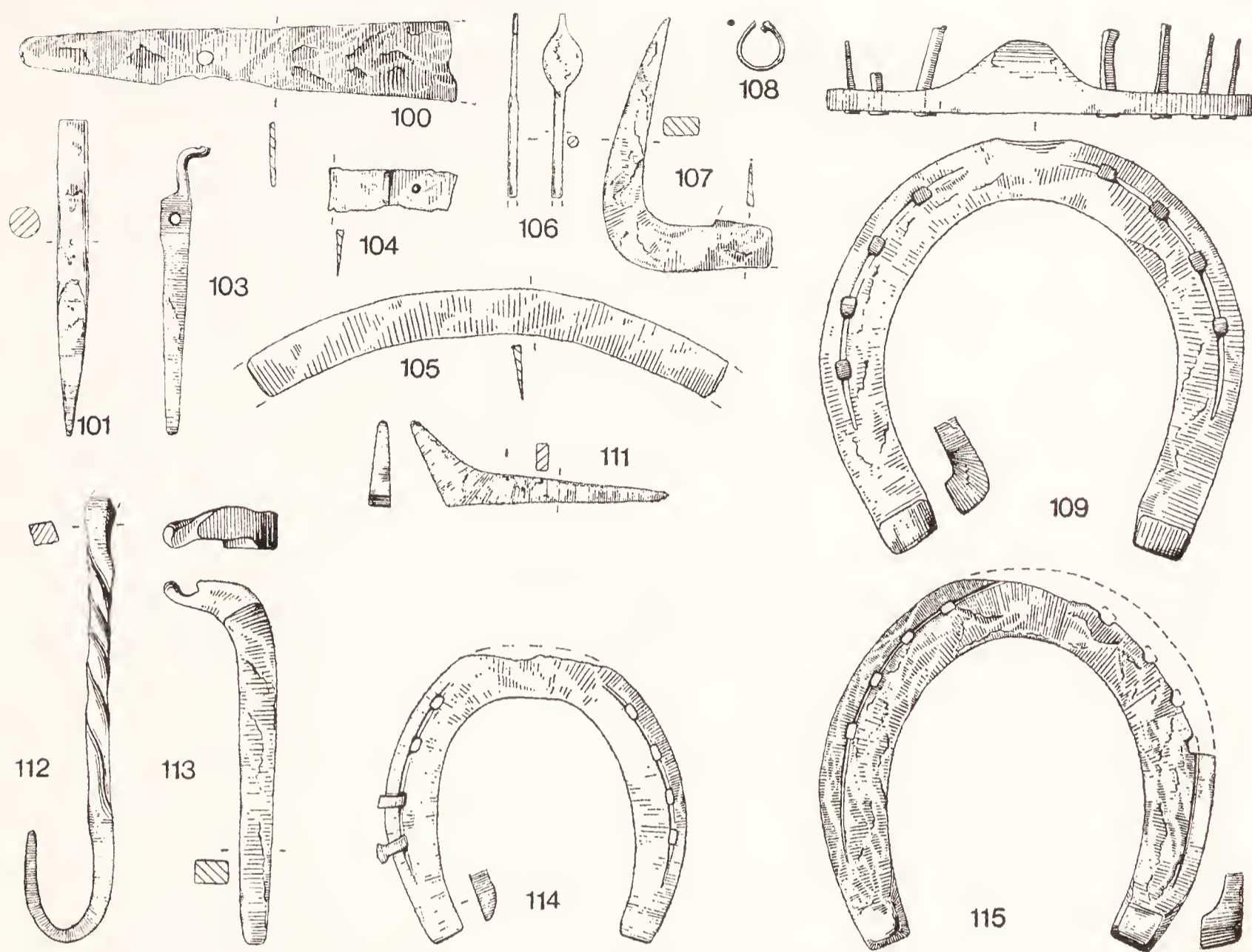
⁷⁰ E. J. W. Hildyard and J. Charlton, "A Medieval Site in Weardale", *Archaeol. Aeliana* 4 25 (1947), p. 194, pl. VII.

⁷¹ Goodall in Crossley, *ibid.*, pp. 73–4, fig. 35, p. 110–111.

⁷² Ian H. Goodall in T. G. Hassall, "Excavations at Oxford Castle, 1965–73", *Oxoniensia* 41 (1976), p. 300, fig. 28, p. 59.

⁷³ Goodall in Drewett, *op. cit.* in note 69, p. 29, fig. 14, p. 39.

FIG. 32. Iron objects from Building 6, scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

FIG. 33. Iron objects from Building 6, scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

windows and presumably used to wedge their frames in place. 82 may be a thatching needle. Four stirrups of near identical form, 83-6, were found in the building as well as a number of horseshoes, 87-9. The two L-shaped fittings 90-1 are identical in form although their use is uncertain. 91 is complete although only one end is illustrated. 92-3 are buckles, 92 with a stud attachment and possibly from a spur, 93 with a sheet cylinder and moulded pin. 94 is a tanged and forked object, perhaps used in thatching, whilst other tools, 95-99, are a chisel with burred head, mason's trowel, scythe blade, pitchfork and nailed and socketed garden fork.

Hinge strap 100, the possible blacksmith's fuller (101) and a bridle bit mouthpiece fragment, 102 (not illustrated) come from post-destruction dumping in the early eighteenth century over the S. end of the building. 103-9, from topsoil over the building, may include disturbed destruction debris. 103-7 are tools, a scissor arm, knife with scale tang and narrow bolster, sickle, possible thatching needle and a scythe. 108 is a ring, 109 and 110 (not illustrated) horseshoes, 110 without the fullered groove and calkins. 111, identical to 76, is of uncertain use. 112-15 are from the fold yard of Building 6. 112 is a hook with spirally-twisted stem, 113 a bar with curved and broken end. The horseshoes 114-15 have fullered grooves; 115 has calkins.

GLASS from Building 6 by Glyn Coppack

More than a thousand fragments of window-glass were recovered from the burned remains of Building 6. Many pieces had been melted by the heat of the fire; others had been shattered into tiny fragments. The fragments which could still be identified were of five distinct types. (Fig. 34, 1-12).

- 1 Three fragments from a diamond-shaped quarry 150 mm by 100 mm, with a base angle of 68° and a side angle of 112° . Pale green metal, with cut edges, 1 mm in thickness. The position of the lead came shows clearly.
- 2 Base angle of a diamond-shaped quarry of 58° , in clear, pale green metal, with cut edges, 1 mm in thickness.
- 3 Fragment from a diamond-shaped quarry 183 mm by 58 mm, with a base angle of 35° and a side angle of 145° . Pale green metal, with cut edges, 1.5 mm in thickness.
- 4 Fragment from a small diamond-shaped quarry 90 mm by 85 mm, with a base angle of 85° and a side angle of 95° . Pale green metal, with cut edges and grozed corners, 1.25 mm in thickness.
- 5 An irregular quarry with four cut edges, all confirmed by the presence of differential weathering along the lines of the lead came. The unusual shape might suggest that this piece comes from a repair to a larger, broken, diamond-shaped quarry. Yellow-green metal, 1 mm thickness.

As well as the window-glass, fragments of at least two drinking-glasses and at least six wine bottles were recovered from the latest occupation of the building.

- 6 Wine-glass stem, with a teared baluster over a small knop, also with a tear, in good quality clear lead glass. Early eighteenth century.
- 7 Base of a flaring bowl over a teared knop in slightly frosted clear lead glass. The surface is rather abraded. Late seventeenth to early eighteenth century.

- 8 Neck of a small bottle in good quality, light green glass. Distorted by burning.
 9-12 Necks of wine bottles in dark green glass. All are badly burned and distorted.

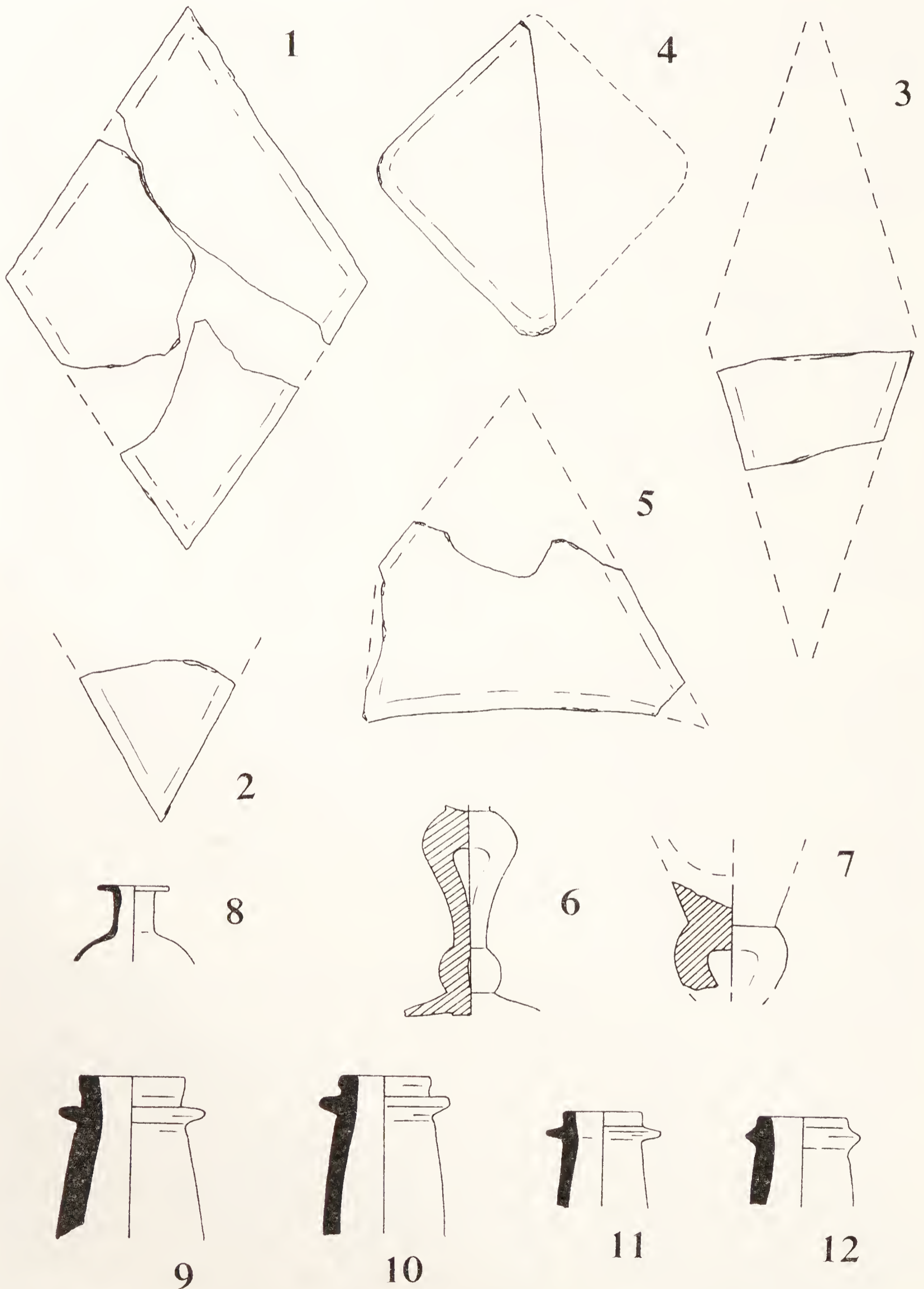


FIG. 34. Glass objects, scales: 1-5, $\frac{1}{2}$; rest actual size.

STONE ARTIFACTS (Fig. 35)

(a) *Prehistoric* by Dr. Geoffrey Wainwright

- 1 An unretouched waste flake of honey-coloured flint. From the topsoil over Building 1.
- 2 An unweathered leaf arrowhead of dark, translucent flint, one tip of which is missing. The fine, flat retouch extends entirely over one surface and partly over the other, the edge of the artifact being defined by steeper retouch. From metalling in the Building 3 yard.
- 3 A weathered bifacially worked artifact of honey-coloured flint. The butt has been removed by subsequent retouching and the artifact appears to belong to a category of triangular arrowheads current in the mid-second millennium B.C. Context as for 2.
- 4 A fragment of a polished stone axe. The piece is too small to enable the form of the axe to be determined, but it appears to have come from near the butt. Dr. W. Cummings provisionally identifies the parent rock as lava.

(b) *Medieval and later* by Glyn Coppack

- 5 A small spindle-whorl turned in chalk. The turning marks are still apparent around its girth. From the hall floor in Building 3, early to middle fourteenth century.
- 6 Fragment of a window reveal with an attached and half-round hollow moulding in oolitic limestone. The hollow would indicate a second half-round and, as the thickness of this block is known, the moulding must have been of composite type. From the general destruction level within the chapel, possibly associated with Phase 2, late twelfth-century.
- 7-11 Broken mica-schist hones from the glacial drift. 7 and 8 came from the floor of the kitchen of Building 3 and 9 from the hall floor of the same building. All belong to the first half of the fourteenth century. 10 was associated with Building 1 and can be generally dated to the fourteenth century. 11 came from a deposit associated with Building 6, of perhaps mid-seventeenth-century date.
- 12 Fragment of a square-sectioned hone of white sandstone, associated with the destruction of Building 6 and hence of late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century date.

COINS by Anthony Fleming

Four coins, one from Site I, one from Site II and two from Site III, were submitted for examination. All were badly worn, more so than would be expected. None was in good enough condition for more than general identification to be possible, and so the types refer to broad categories shown in Seaby's *British Copper Coins and their values*, Pt. I.—*Regal Coins*.

- 1 George II halfpenny, Irish type. Young Head with harp reverse. 1741, from topsoil on the north side of the chapel.
- 2 George II halfpenny, Old Head type, of period 1740-54. Outline of the head all but obliterated by corrosion. Unstratified within Building 5.
- 3 William III farthing, probably of Type 1 (1695-1700) with date in exergue. Very worn and burned. From the floor of the partitioned room in Building 6.
- 4 William III halfpenny, of Type III (1699-1701). Date almost illegible but probably 1700. From above the destruction of Building 6.

ANIMAL BONES by Carol Youngson

Sites II and III produced stratified groups of animal bones which could be usefully identified. The material from Site II comes from the stratified yard levels associated with Building 3, 4 and 5 with a suggested date-range of 1300-1450. The animal bones from Site III come from occupation deposits within Buildings 6, which was destroyed by fire early in the eighteenth century. Some totally carbonised bones were noted from this context. Both sites comprised very mixed samples of mostly domestic animals.

Site II (Table I)

Site II produced 378 bone fragments of which 185 were identified to species. Sheep and cattle bones predominate, as on Site III, where the same proportion of pig bones is shown. Of the sheep and cattle bones, more bones appeared to represent 'eaten' meat rather than the parts of the animal discarded in preparation:

Eaten: 63 bones. Discarded during preparation: 47 bones.

A minimum of four pigs were represented, not a particularly high number, perhaps indicating a lower dependence on pork. One horse is represented by five rib fragments and twelve leg bones. The bones found may indicate that the animal was eaten. One dog and one cat were also featured.

Analysis by 'joints' in the culinary sense does not produce interpretable results. The majority of the sheep and cattle bones do not come from the commonly eaten portions of the animal. The nature of the animal bones recovered would suggest that they represent kitchen waste, and show that whilst meat cannot be considered the principal item of diet, the meat most commonly eaten came from sheep and cattle, with less dependence on pigs and perhaps horses. Dog and cat remains may be intrusive or represent the remains of pets or feral animals.

Site III (Table 2)

Sheep, cattle, horse, pig, dog, chicken, cat and rabbit were all represented here. 129 bone fragments were identifiable to species out of a total of 255; representing 117 bones and teeth.

Those bones found represent mainly the 'eaten' parts of these animals. Sheep: 79% edible; 21% non-edible parts; Cattle: 79.5% edible, 20.5% non-edible leg of edible, limbs 'hocks' and ribs. However, there was also a quantity of teeth and several mandible fragments, and several 'toe-bones' present. A minimum of four sheep and three cows are represented. The horse remains are mainly limbs, with one mandible and some teeth present. The pig remains are all of edible parts with hocks in the majority. Many of the bones showed signs of butchering, having obviously been cut or *sawn*. The rabbit and chickens may well have been food items, though there is a possibility that the rabbit was intrusive. The dog and cat (probably two individuals) were presumably pets caught in the fire.

The groups from both sites are remarkably similar although the later material from Site III shows a possible

TABLE I

BONES REPRESENTED BY FRAGMENTS FROM SITE II

[illegible]

* calc. etc. = calcaneum, navicular and phalanges.

TABLE 2

BONES REPRESENTED BY FRAGMENTS FROM SITE III

	skull	mandible	teeth	humerus	radius	ulna	femur	tibia	meta- podials	pelvis	scapula	vert.	ribs	calc. etc.*	Total
SHEEP ..	..	1	11	2	4		5	8	2				7	4	44
CATTLE ..	3	2	2				3	2	9	1	4	2	10	3	41
HORSE ..		1	2						2					4	9
PIG ..			1			2				1			2	7	13
DOG ..			1	1					3						5
RABBIT ..				1			1								2
CHICKEN ..										2					2
CAT ..				1											1
														TOTAL	117 bones

expansion of diet including chicken and rabbit, although not in significant numbers. The totals from Site III are low, which might suggest that much of the domestic refuse was deposited away from the building, and that only a small proportion has been recovered.

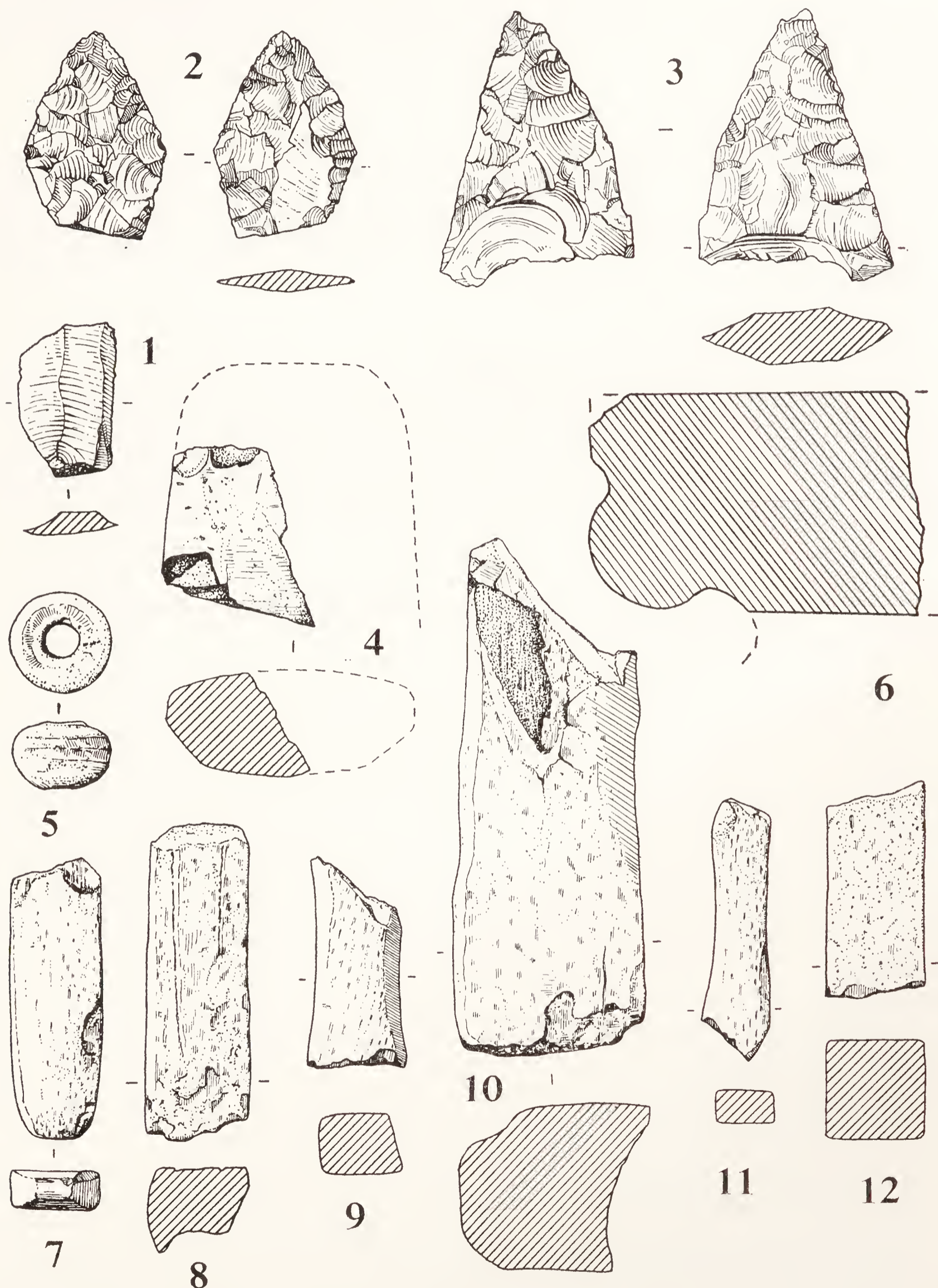


FIG. 35. Stone objects, scales: 5-12, $\frac{1}{2}$; rest actual size.

SEEDS by J. R. B. Arthur and P. J. Paradine

Samples of wood charcoal lifted from the fallen remains of the east wall of Building 6 were found to contain a quantity of charred seeds in addition to fragments of structural timber. The following seeds were identified.

Vicia faba L. (broad bean): 3 half beans in Sample A/AQ 1961, 2 beans in Sample A/BU 2108, 1 bean in Sample S/SC 192 from Building 2.

Triticum turgidum L. (wheat): 110 grains, not including broken grains. These and the following were in Sample A/AP 2107.

Avena spp. (oats): 2 grains.

Sambucus nigra L. (elder): 1 fruit.

Anthemis cotula L. (stinking mayweed): 12 achenes.

Ajuga reptans L. (bugle): 3 nutlets.

Acines arvensis (Lam.) Dandy (basil-thyme): 1 nutlet.

Geranium sp. (most probably *G. robertianum* L. herb-robert): 8 seeds.

Lolium sp.: 1 naked caryopsis.

Phleum pratense L. (timothy): 1 naked caryopsis.

Potentilla sp. (most probably *P. sterilis* (L) *garcke*—cinquefoils, etc.): 8 achenes.

Rumex crispus L. (curled dock): 1 nut.

Stellaria sp. (chickweeds): 2 seeds and fragments.

Cerasium sp. (chickweeds): 2 seeds and fragments.

Atriplex patula L. (iron-root): 2 seeds.

Chenopodium album agg. (fat hen): 2 seeds.

Chenopodium sp. (most probably *C. polyspermum* L.): 1 seed.

Fumaria officinalis L. (common fumitory): 3 capsules.

Many more seeds were present in this large sample, which was submitted in two parts. Approximately half was water-sieved and manually separated, whilst the remainder was submitted untouched. They were, however, too damaged for accurate identification. Grains of *Triticum turgidum* L. (Rivets wheat) were found in the untouched sample, also nodes and internodes of the straw and minute pieces of the inflorescence. Fragments of the solid straw, approximately 1.0 cm in length, clearly showed the striate markings; numerous pieces from 2 to 6 mm of awns aided greatly the morphological characters in providing the exact identification of the wheat cultivar. Most of the other seeds identified in this sample include both cultivated and waste land in their known habitats.

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RICHARD CLERVAUX OF CROFT: A NORTH RIDING SQUIRE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

BY A. J. POLLARD

Summary Richard Clervaux of Croft (c. 1420–90) was one of the richer gentry of the North Riding. From material recorded in the later folios of his cartulary certain aspects of his life can be reconstructed: the painstaking consolidation of his estate in Croft itself (1447–1473); his close social links with his fellow landowners in Richmondshire; and his circumspect and successful political career during the 'Wars of the Roses'. The picture that emerges is of a man, typical of many of his class, whose primary concern was the maintenance of his inherited place in the local society and to whom dynastic conflicts were peripheral.

The history of the fifteenth century is written largely from the point of view of the ruling dynasties and of the great magnates of the realm. This is because they were the principal participants and because most of the evidence concerns them. The history of the greater part of the political nation—the county gentry—has, with a few notable exceptions, been hidden from us by the dearth of evidence. Yet, as our awareness of the importance of the lesser landowning class in the political and social structure of later medieval England grows, this becomes more apparently a distorting gap in our knowledge.¹ Any documentation concerning the life of a county squire is thus of great interest for the light it can throw, however dimly, on the attitudes, interests and behaviour of his class. Richard Clervaux of Croft (c. 1420–1490) is one of this select band, because early on entering into his inheritance he decided to have a cartulary compiled, and because his descendants have treasured this book ever since.²

The Clervaux Cartulary is one of the comparatively few medieval lay cartularies to have survived the ravages of time. It was used by Longstaffe for his note on the Clervaux family which he appended to his history of Darlington. And early in this century it was the subject of a preliminary study by A. H. Thompson which amply demonstrated its shortcomings, but did rather less than justice to its merits, the greatest of which is the collection in its later folios of materials concerning the life and career of its compiler.³ The Cartulary is in fact two separate compositions. The first, and larger, is the work commissioned by Richard Clervaux, which is a register of the deeds of all the property inherited by him in 1443, brought neatly to a close by a transcript of his father's will (folio 143). The second part is a continuation put together by several hands at different dates, and is in effect an on-going register of deeds and miscellaneous documents concerning Richard Clervaux. The original

¹ The Paston Letters are of course the single most important source for the history of the fifteenth-century gentry. H. S. Bennet, *The Pastons and their England* (2nd ed., 1932) and F. R. H. Du Bouley, *An Age of Ambition* (1970) make excellent use of them. C. L. Kingsford, 'Social life and the Wars of the Roses', in *Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England* (1925) is a necessary starting point for other sources and for modern assessments of the role of the gentry in the fifteenth century. Amongst more recent studies the following are particularly valuable: M. J. Bennett, 'A county community: social cohesion amongst the Cheshire gentry', *Northern History*, 8 (1973), pp. 24–43; C. Dyer, 'A small landowner in the fifteenth century', *Midland History*, 3 (1972), pp. 1–14; and J. Taylor, 'The Plumpton Letters, 1416–1552', *Northern History*, 10 (1975), pp. 72–87.

² The Clervaux Cartulary belongs to Mr. W. D. Chaytor of Croft and is deposited in the North Yorkshire Record Office, Northallerton. I would once again like to record my gratitude to Mr. Chaytor for allowing me to borrow the Cartulary whilst preparing this essay.

³ W. H. D. Longstaffe, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Darlington* (1854), pp. lxix–lxxx; A. H. Thompson, 'The Clervaux Chartulary', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd series, xvii (1920), pp. 2–44. For Cartularies in general see G. R. C. Davies, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* (1954). Only 159 secular cartularies have survived compared with 1,185 ecclesiastical cartularies. A good example in print of a cartulary similar to the Clervaux cartulary is provided by H. E. Salter, *The Boarstall Cartulary* (Oxford 1930). This was compiled in 1444 and the following years by Edward Rede of Boarstall, near Brill, Oxon, a man of similar wealth and standing to Richard Clervaux.

cartulary appears to have been compiled in 1450 by the scribe called Cressi who recorded his authorship in the following couplet at the foot of folio 148d:

Cressi cognomen scriptor det deus sibi omen
scripsit temporamen clerveis que honoris amen.

As A. H. Thompson commented, these are singularly clumsy hexameters. Translated liberally they are: 'the writer of the record of the temporal goods and honour of Clervaux was called Cressi; God bring him luck'.⁴ This is written on the last leaf of the nineteen quires which made up the original book (folio 148d); five and a half leaves being left empty between the last entry and the signature. The date when this was done can be fixed fairly certainly from internal evidence. Although the cartulary was designed to show the property inherited by Richard Clervaux, Cressi was not averse to including transcripts of deeds relating to property acquired in the recent past by his master. Six of these were even collected separately under the heading 'carte de nova querita Ricardi Clervaux' on folios 33-34d. Of the dates transcribed in this section the latest is St. George's Day, 1450. All of these deeds relating to the years 1443-50 are transcribed again in the continuation. The earliest deed in the continuation *not* also transcribed by Cressi is dated 2 January 1451. From this one can deduce that Cressi composed his epigram and laid down his pen before the beginning of 1451 and that he was working on the greater part of the book *after* 23 April 1450. The leaves left empty by Cressi at the beginning of 1451 were soon being used for supplementary entries by possibly as many as eight later scribes. The first recorded royal and private grants to Richard Clervaux between 1443 and 1447 (folios 143-44d). The second noted a royal grant of 1457; the third a royal grant of 1460 (folio 144d). A fourth scribe added transcripts of collected deeds for 1443-1451, including the repetition of all those previously included by Cressi (folios 145-46). A fifth hand was responsible for three more deeds of 1453-5 (folios 146-46d). A sixth entered documents relating to the year 1465 (folios 146d-47d). A seventh noted a further deed from 1450 (folio 148) and an eighth hand filled in the remaining space with material relating to the Scrope family's interest in Croft dating from the early fourteenth century (folios 148-48d).

One of these scribes, the sixth, to judge by the similarity of the hand and the continuity of subject matter, was responsible for the extensive continuation of twelve leaves which was started on a new quire. This appendix starts with further documents relating to 1465, but goes on to become a comprehensive collection of deeds from 1446 to 1489 (folios 151-162d). This repeats for a third time deeds from before 1450. Between the two quires—the last of the original sheets and the first of the additional—is a supplementary sheet (folios 149-150d) which is a later intrusion containing ancillary information relating to the deeds of 1465 and, in later hands, documents relating to 1483-9. At the very end is a series of miscellaneous documents not relating directly to Richard Clervaux containing, *inter alia*, examples of court rolls concerning East Cowton, information on free tenants in Cowton, and a draft of a will of Richard's son Marmaduke (folios 163-67d). The final binding of the book, made in part of used parchment acquired from the estate office of the lordship of Middleham, and the placing of it between the wooden boards which survive to this day, appear not to have been carried out until after the end of Richard's life. It is impossible to determine in which order the entries in the continuation were made—except to say that it was not one after another. There seems to have been very little method or care taken until the addition of a new quire. The impression one receives from the text is that from time to time someone decided to up-date the cartulary, making use of any available space until the original was filled. In this haphazard and repetitive way the supplement of some 115 entries which forms the basis of this study was completed.

⁴ Thompson, *Arch. Ael.* xvii, p. 7. My comments here expand and correct the brief remarks I made on the composition of the Cartulary in 'The northern retainers of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury', *Northern History*, 11 (1976 for 1975), p. 56.



Fig 1. Croft-on-Tees and neighbourhood.
 The stippled area indicates Clervaux holdings in 1489.

The content of this supplement is not comprehensive. The most serious drawback is the absence of personal material; the family correspondence such as illumines the lives of the Plumpton further to the south in the county. The greater part of the documentation in the continuations, as one would expect, concerns the management of the Clervaux inheritance—the acquisition of new property, the economy of the estate, and the tenantry. But in addition it includes useful information on Clervaux's social circle and material relevant to his political career. From this, augmented by public and other private records, one can recreate at least some aspects of its owner's life.

* * * * *

It is appropriate to consider first the most fully documented aspect of Clervaux's life: the management of his inheritance. Most of the Clervaux estate lay in or bounding onto the parish of Croft on the south bank of the river Tees in the far north of the county, in the district of Richmondshire. The principal holdings lay in the township of Croft, where also was Clervaux's residence, or *manerius* as it was styled in one deed;⁵ in the townships of Jolby, Walmire and Stapleton (also in the parish of Croft in the fifteenth century); and in East Cowton, of which Clervaux was lord of the manor, in the neighbouring parish to the south. The family also held extensive property in York, where they had a second dwelling house, and in Darlington. There were a few other scattered properties in Yorkshire, some as far south as Doncaster. But the heart of the estate and that which took pride of place in the Cartulary was the holding in Croft first acquired in 1240. The dominant feature of Richard Clervaux's tenure of his inheritance was the consolidation of this principal holding.

Croft was in the fifteenth century a large parish which contained within it no less than six separate townships—Croft, Jolby and Walmire, Halnaby in the possession of the Place family, Dalton in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of St. Peter's, York, and Stapleton divided principally between the Clervaux and Methams.⁶ The Clervaux held all the land of Walmire, parts of Jolby and parts of Croft. The township of Croft contained approximately 700 acres of arable land with the customary meadowland, pasture, woods and moorland. There was just one very large open field, broken up naturally by the streams, or sikes as they were called locally, which flowed into two becks—Clowbeck and Sunbeck (now Spabeck). This field was farmed in common; as is shown by its many strips, by the scattering of holdings throughout the field, and by the apportioning of pasture to arable holdings.⁷ There was at least one area of common moorland lying between Croft, Dalton and Walmire. This moorland was partitioned in 1476 'so as the tenants of Dalton shall now have their common in parte assigned to them in the same more also severally as thei have her arabyll londe'.⁸ Even though Dalton was held in severalty, Jolby and Walmire were, like Croft, one large field farmed communally. In 1443 Richard Clervaux inherited only just over half of the land of Croft. There were 20 oxgangs and 31 acres of what were apparently old bondage holdings, which in the thirteenth century had been attached to thirteen homesteads.⁹ He also held the mills of Croft and their appurtenances and a further five homesteads and land totalling 184 acres which were freehold. In 1465 two of the houses and half the land were occupied by relations—his uncle Thomas Clervaux and a Richard Clervaux junior. But the capital messuage, eight other houses and a total of 253 acres, including the demesne of 173 acres were held by Lord Scrope of Bolton. All of this was tenanted. Finally there were at least eight other properties of 40 acres and more, including five homesteads

⁵ Cler. Cart., f. 39d.

⁶ *The Victoria History of the County of York, North Riding*, ed. W. Page, i (1914), p. 167.

⁷ See Joan Thirsk, 'The origins of the common fields', *Past and Present*, 29 (1964), pp. 3–25. This article together with the debate it stimulated is usefully reprinted in *Peasants, Knights and Heretics*, ed. R. H. Hilton (1976).

⁸ Cler. Cart. f. 153; (D)urham (R)ecord (Office,) Chaytor Papers, D/ch/D200; Longstaffe, *Darlington*, p. lxix.

⁹ Cler. Cart. ff. 5–7. The problem of land measurement in fifteenth-century England is discussed briefly in Appendix I, below.

which were held in freehold of Lord Scrope.¹⁰ The record suggests a thriving farming community in which Clervaux was the principal but by no means exclusive landowner.

In the later 1440s, not long after entering the estate, Richard Clervaux set about acquiring the other half of Croft, an ambition which was to take him 26 years to achieve in two periods of intense activity. He began with the smaller parcels of land. On 25 March 1447, William Frank of Kneeton in Middleton Tyas agreed to lease his messuage and approximately 30 acres of arable in Croft 'for evermore', for an annual rent of 22s. 10d. Clervaux was probably anxious to buy this property outright from an unwilling Frank. The best that he could get out of a renewal of the lease negotiated with Frank's son Thomas in 1467 was an option on the property.¹¹ Clervaux was more successful in 1449 when he acquired a messuage and arable lands from his 'yhomán' William Cabery. Cabery, an old family retainer, was at the same time granted board and livery in the Clervaux household for the rest of his life. A year later he added the lands of John Sharpe of Darlington. And in 1458 Clervaux acquired yet another messuage in Croft with its garden and half acre of land from the heiresses of John Makadoo.¹² The gathering crisis facing the house of Lancaster may now have taken Clervaux's attention for there were no more transactions until after the Yorkist dynasty was well established.

The consolidation of the estate came to a climax on 11 January 1465 when Clervaux and John Lord Scrope sealed an agreement exchanging all Clervaux's lands in Jolby and Stapleton and a plot in York for all Scrope's 253 acres and property in Croft. Included, it would seem, in the lands handed over to Scrope were two messuages and 15 acres in Stapleton acquired from one Robert Spawde in 1446 and 1447; and lands in Jolby acquired in 1451 from the trustees of Thomas Horston, clerk; in 1452 from Thomas Wylkynson of Sherburn in Elvet, Co. Durham; and in 1455 from one Robert Alan.¹³ In addition to these the indenture of agreement specified ten properties in Stapleton and Cleasby with a total of 150 acres, of which 64 belonged to the 'chief mese' of Stapleton being farmed by Robert Bellamy. In Jolby, Clervaux surrendered the whole holding of 90 acres being farmed by Thomas Hipper, two tofts also held by Hipper and a cottage held by Richard Blacman, all the land specified in the agreement totalling 109 acres. The income from the rents of all these lands was £12 3s. 0d. and the capital value fixed at £226 13s. 4d. In exchange Scrope surrendered his nine homesteads and 253 acres in Croft including the 'chief mese' and 173 acres of demesne land in the farm of William Hobson. The total rent income was £7 15s. 2d. and the capital value fixed at £133 6s. 8d. The deal was completed and fines levied in April 1468 by which time Scrope had presumably paid over the balance of £93 6s. 8d. on the value of the properties exchanged.¹⁴ Thus Clervaux not only gained possession of the largest single block of lands in Croft but also raised a handsome capital sum as well.

A spate of further purchases and exchanges of property in Croft followed in the next eight years. Part of the capital raised in 1465 may well have been invested in this land. In August 1466 Clervaux purchased a messuage and its appurtenances from Thomas Shorte of Long Newton. In January 1468 he acquired a half-acre strip in Croft field from John Bellamy, husbandman of Stapleton in exchange for three small plots in Stapleton and Jolby. He completed two exchanges with neighbouring gentlemen on the same day in January 1470. He took a messuage and its appurtenances from Ralph Rokeby of Mortham in exchange for property in Hutton Magna which he had acquired way back in 1451 from John Barklay and Alice his wife.¹⁵ And he took possession of a second messuage and other

¹⁰ See the discussion following.

¹¹ Cler. Cart. ff. 145-6d, 33d-4, 156d, 157; D.R.O., D/ch/D198.

¹² Cler. Cart. ff. 146, 148, 158, 159d.

¹³ Cler. Cart. ff. 113d-4, 145, 146-6d, 161.

¹⁴ Cler. Cart. ff. 147-7d, 151d; D.R.O. D/ch/ d196, 7. The final latin deed transcribed on f. 152 includes one more holding in Croft than the initial indenture in English on f. 147. In the originals of these, preserved amongst the Chaytor papers deposited at Durham Record Office, this holding is included in the indenture in English.

¹⁵ Cler. Cart. ff. 145d, 157d-8, 159, 159d.

parcels in Dalton and Jolby from Sir Thomas Markenfield, lord of nearby Eryholme, in exchange for a tenement and 11 acres in Eryholme which he had acquired, also in 1451, from Sybil Hodding. And in October 1471 he secured possession of all the property in Croft which Richard Stertforth of Dalton had inherited from both his father, Robert and his mother, Alice Laton.¹⁵ In these very active years in the land market Clervaux also began to acquire new property in Jolby. He purchased a messuage and 5½ acres in Jolby field from William Manners, who was also one of his tenants in Croft, in October 1465, and another messuage and a waste cottage with the attached lands from Sir William Pudsay of Selaby for a house in Darlington and £5 in 1470. But these, with the exception of a parcel on Brakynbere Hill, were then exchanged for a toft and lands in Croft belonging to Rowland Place of Halnaby.¹⁶ This deal of April 1473 brought to an end Clervaux's consolidation of Croft. One may suppose that there was then nothing remaining in other hands and that he at last owned all that he could of the township of Croft. After 1473 he was the sole and unchallenged master of Croft and Walmire.

The time-consuming and no doubt expensive process by which Richard Clervaux concentrated his property within the township of Croft stands out clearly from the record. His motivation on the other hand is shrouded in mystery. It did not make him lord of the manor. Although both before and after the exchange he styled himself, or was styled, Lord of Croft on several occasions—in the grant of an oratory in 1453; in deeds of 1467, 1468 and 1476; and in the epitaph he caused to be inscribed on his tomb ('Crofte quondam dominus')¹⁷—it is abundantly clear from the agreement between Clervaux and Scrope that Scrope retained all the rights and privileges of the lordship of the manor. He specifically reserved for himself all fealty, rents and suits Richard owed for the land he held of him by knight's service—the free tenements; for the land he held in socage—the original family holding; and of all 'other tenantes that haldeth ioyntly or severally of the same John Lord Scrope as of the same manor and seynorye of Croft'—a clause which would encompass Clervaux's other acquisitions.¹⁸ According to a later memorandum Scrope conceded his right to relief and wardship on the lands involved in the exchange.¹⁹ But this did not give Clervaux the right to call himself lord of the manor: that privilege remained firmly with Scrope who was the residual legatee of the honour of Richmond in Croft. The only manor of which Clervaux was lord was that of East Cowton and it is only in East Cowton that he held courts.

Nor does the concentration of ownership into Clervaux's hands seem to have led to any striking reorganisation in the economy of the estate at Croft. The creation of one consolidated estate might well have been the prelude to direct exploitation on a large scale or to enclosure. Neither of these seems to have taken place. The small, unified, easily manageable estate of the country squire, such as that created by Richard Clervaux was, it has been suggested, more suitable for direct exploitation and potentially more profitable than the large, widely scattered estates of the magnates in the fifteenth century. Some of the country gentry were experimenting in such direct management, as has been demonstrated in the case of John Brome of Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire, who in the decade 1442–52 turned over his consolidated estate of some 300 acres to pastoral farming.²⁰ However, nothing like this seems to have happened at Croft. That there was some direct exploitation of the estate when Richard inherited it is shown by his father's will. In it John Clervaux disposed of a herd of at least 45 cattle—most of it to Richard himself—and of an acre of standing wheat, presumably only a part of his arable crop that year. Richard continued to operate this home farm.²¹ There was still a herd of cattle in 1478, for straying beasts were a

¹⁶ Cler. Cart. ff. 145, 157d–8d.

¹⁷ Cler. Cart. ff. 154d–5, 160; and below.

¹⁸ Cler. Cart. ff. 147, 152.

¹⁹ Cler. Cart. f. 149.

²⁰ M. M. Postan, *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. I, *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages* (2nd ed. 1966), pp. 610–13; C. Dyer, *Midland History*, 3, p. 1.

²¹ Cler. Cart. f. 143.

cause of friction between Clervaux and his neighbour, Rowland Place. Richard also had land under the plough. The acquisition in 1468 of 'a rig of land called half one acre lying upon long longlands in Crofte soile', which was bounded on both sides by land he already farmed, would appear to have been made to consolidate some of this. Additionally, Richard had a much larger section of Croft field in severalty in 1467. This was the area west of the village known as Stokmire, bounded by the 'dyke that departys Crofte soile and Joylby soile unto Sonbeke and fro the dyke in Stutfath sieke unto the sieke that is called Edyndales sieke', upon which it was agreed Thomas Frank could distrain animals or standing crops for arrears of rent (should they arise) for the land which Clervaux rented from him.²² But it is impossible to see how Clervaux could have undertaken direct exploitation throughout the estate. All the land acquired from Scrope was tenanted—including all of the demesne land. That tenants also occupied some of the original Clervaux holdings is revealed by descriptions of some of the purchased land as lying between the holdings of named tenants. There is no evidence that these tenants were evicted. For the same reason immediate enclosure of the estate seems to have been out of the question. Stokmire was enclosed before the end of the century, for in a draft will drawn up by Clervaux's son Marmaduke it is described as Stokmire Park and is one of the closes where a flock of at least 300 sheep was kept.²³ But this was only enclosure of land already held in severalty. It was not in fact until the 1540s that the whole estate was eventually reorganised and enclosed, with completely new farms being created.²⁴ This it is true could not have been done without Richard's consolidation, but one could hardly argue from the available evidence that it was Richard's intention to create the conditions for eventual enclosure. If then Richard Clervaux had had any ambitions for immediate agrarian reorganisation or agricultural experiment when he undertook the consolidation of his estate in Croft he found them impossible to fulfil.

It may just be possible that Clervaux was moved more by a love of hunting than by any hard-headed materialistic calculation. It could be more than coincidence that he acquired the right to free warreny in Croft, Walmire and East Cowton in 1478 only *after* he had completed the consolidation. That he was a keen huntsman is suggested by the agreement reached with Rowland Place, also in 1478, that neither himself nor his hounds would trespass on Place's land while following game.²⁵ A desire to extend the land over which he could hunt without dispute may have been a contributory factor, but it could hardly have been the sole reason why he spent so much time and energy on consolidating his estate. Without there being any obvious and immediate material benefits the consolidation remains an enigma. Did Clervaux have entirely personal reasons about which he has left no record? It may be that he was moved only by a desire to have complete control of his native township—a pride in ownership reflected also in his unwarranted description of himself as Lord of Croft.

Croft, it has become abundantly clear, was predominantly a rentier estate. After consolidation in 1465 it was held by some two dozen tenants yielding rents of some £18–£20 *per annum*. Any income which Richard Clervaux received from the direct management of his home farm on Stokmire and other lands was only a supplement to this. There is evidence in the Cartulary to suggest that the income he received from these rents had declined over the 160 years preceding the exchange with Scrope. In 1305 Henry Lord Scrope had leased all of his lands in Croft for a term of eighteen years to Richard Clervaux's ancestor, William, for a rent of £12 *per annum*. A century later, in 1404, Scrope's lands were held by several tenants, not including a Clervaux, for a total rental of £9 10s. 8d. In 1465, at the time of the

²² Cler. Cart. ff. 152d, 155d, 157.

²³ Cler. Cart. f. 164d.

²⁴ D.R.O. D/Ch/D 201, 210, 218. In 1548 the demesne was described as being 'nowe inclosyd with dyges and hedges' into three fields or arable land. In the same year two farms called Fatt Hill and Crossfield were sold to Christopher Chaytor. Forty years later, the Clervaux possessions in Croft were described in an extent as being six farms of land.

²⁵ Cler. Cart. ff. 154d, 155d. See also below.

exchange, there were nine tenants owing a total of £7 15s. 2d. in rent.²⁶ It is likely, given the economy of open field farming, that rents throughout the estate had suffered an equivalent decline. And indeed at least two tenancies were vacant in the 1460s, one, at Jolby, described as waste. It is worth noting, therefore, that Clervaux and Scrope at Croft seem to have shared the experience of most rentier landlords during the later middle ages. Thus, in so much as Clervaux remained primarily a rentier landlord, the evidence suggests, and by its nature it can do no more, that he at least was *not* one of the gentry able to stand out against the prevailing economic trend.

A suggestion that the income from rents on one estate had fallen by some 35% in the century and a half following 1300 does not imply that Richard Clervaux was impoverished. In addition to the lands at Croft, Richard inherited extensive property in York, and the lordship of East Cowton which in the early fourteenth century had been valued at a minimum of £15 *per annum*.²⁷ In 1442, to judge by Richard's marriage settlement, the net revenue from all the Clervaux possessions seems to have been assessed at £50 *per annum*, for the jointure (presumably the customary one-third) was set at 25 marks or £16 13s. 4d. *per annum*.²⁸ Nor did Richard depend exclusively on his landed income. For one, he engaged in overseas trade. On 14 February 1444 he received a royal licence to trade with two ships to Iceland, exporting any merchandise except raw wool and importing stockfish, for a term of seven years. Whether he continued in trade after 1451 is not known for certain, but it is likely that he did.²⁹ For another, Richard was in receipt of handsome fees for life from two local magnates. On 20 April 1445, Robert Nevill, Bishop of Durham, granted him an annual fee of £5 from the episcopal revenues in Darlington and on 20 January 1448 Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, granted him a fee of 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) out of the manor of Oxenhall, which lay in Durham just across the river Tees from Croft.³⁰ And finally he received from time to time royal grants and commissions all of which must have brought some profit.³¹ It is impossible to give any exact estimate of Richard's annual income, but a man who was receiving from all sources something in the region of £50 or more was undoubtedly one of the 'most sufficient' gentry of Richmondshire.

Certainly Richard Clervaux seems to have maintained an impressive standard of living. His father had added a new chamber to Croft Hall and Richard himself set up a private chapel there in 1453 and may well have undertaken further rebuilding.³² The most valued family possessions passed on to Richard by his father were three covered cups, two uncovered cups and twelve spoons, presumably of silver, a large number of vessels of brass and pewter, a hanging and canopy of arras for the dais in the hall, a master bed with curtains and a tester and five other plain beds.³³ Richard appears to have been served by a household of two or more yeomen and at least two chaplains at any one time. The yeomen, like William Cabery who retired in 1449 with a generous pension after a lifetime of service to both son and father, received free board, lodging and their master's livery.³⁴ The chaplains were no doubt principally for the servicing of the oratory. The names and, in the case of the

²⁶ Cler. Cart. f. 149.

²⁷ Cler. Cart. f. 66d-7. When the extent was made the demesne of 216 acres was valued at the low sum of £1 13s. 4d. *per annum*.

²⁸ Cler. Cart. f. 138d-9; Thompson, *Arch. Ael*, xvii, p. 37.

²⁹ Cler. Cart. f. 143; Thompson, *Arch. Ael*, xvii, p. 39.

³⁰ Cler. Cart. ff. 144-4d.

³¹ For example in 1447 (f. 144; Thompson, *Arch. Ael*, xvii, p. 39-40) and 1457 (f. 144d; Longstaffe, *Darlington*, p. lxviii, where the date is wrongly transcribed as 25 Henry VI).

³² A. H. Thompson, 'The Register of the Archdeacons of Richmond, 1422-77', *Y.A.J.*, 30 (1931), pp. 108, 110. In 1453 Richard received a licence to have masses celebrated *voce submissa* for one year. Many of his neighbours had private chapels: see for examples *ibid*, pp. 92, 111, 115, 130. It is possible that Clervaux also put up a new porch to his house. According to the herald's visitation of 1666 there was a full coat of arms and the letters R.C. set in stone above the porch. (T. D. Whitaker, *A History of Richmondshire in the North Riding of the County of York* (London, 1823), i, pp. 241-2.)

³³ Cler. Cart. f. 142d; Longstaffe, *Darlington*, p. lxvi.

³⁴ Cler. Cart. f. 55; Longstaffe, *Darlington*, p. lxviii.

chaplains, the status of these members of his household are recorded in the appointments of attorneys for receiving possession of Clervaux's acquisitions. Laurence Wederherd, an attorney three times between 1446 and 1452, and William Clerk, once in 1470, who were given no designated status in the letters of appointment, may well have been yeomen of the household. Named chaplains acting as attorneys were: John Smith and William Bell on occasions in 1451-2; John Smith and John Mason on occasions in 1465-6; and John Johnson and William Smethon on occasions in 1470-1.³⁵ Smith and Wederherd were present in the household at Croft on 22 January 1450 when they witnessed the taking of the homage of William Thuglisth for his free tenement in East Cowton. John Smith also acted as a feoffee in the transfer of the Makadoo property to Clervaux from February 1452 when he received the messuage to December 1458 when he surrendered it to its new owner. This was possibly the same as the John Smith of South Cowton who was, with Richard Clervaux himself amongst others, a witness to a deed settling lands in East Cowton on yet another chaplain, William Smethon in 1453, and who was commissioned on 4 January 1454 to administer the goods of Nicholas Paintour, late rector of Croft who had died intestate.³⁶ None of these chaplains seems to have received preferment in the church, not even in the parish of Croft. But they were, one may guess, the men responsible for the continuations to the Cartulary after 1450.

Several of Clervaux's household servants were also his tenants: Cabery, Clerk and Smethon were all freeholders in Croft and East Cowton. In 1465 Clervaux had eight free tenants in Croft. Two of these, with two of the largest holdings, were his relations who held only a life interest in lands granted to them by Richard's grandfather. One of these holdings was still known as Marshallsland after the family from whom it had been acquired between 1340 and 1420. The other six were villagers. John de Croft had a holding of 60 acres, but the rest had only smallholdings: John Dernlove, chaplain held 12 acres; William Shiphyrd and William Cabery shared 10 acres; Thomas Bell had 2 acres and William Clerk but one rood.³⁷ In Croft, as elsewhere in England, freehold was strictly a legal tenurial distinction: economically and socially freeholders fitted into the same spectrum as unfree tenants.³⁸ The names and sizes of holdings of nineteen who either became or ceased to be Clervaux's tenants in Croft, Jolby and Stapleton as a consequence of the exchange of 1465 are listed in the Cartulary. Of these, three (William Hobson in Croft, Thomas Hipper in Jolby and Robert Bellamy in Stapleton) were farming demesne lands of 64 acres or more and were clearly the type of men of independent means, as was John de Croft, to whom the word yeoman was increasingly being applied. Indeed, Robert Bellamy, who had the smallest of these farms, was so styled in a deed of 1471.³⁹ The next discernable group is that of five husbandmen who had holdings of 18 to 30 acres, large enough to provide an independent living from the land. They were William Lessy and Harry Butcher in Stapleton, and William Manners, John Alan and John Appleby in Croft. The remaining eleven holdings for which we have evidence were in the hands of men with 10 acres or less—men, who if they did not hold land elsewhere would need, like the greater part of Clervaux's freeholders in Croft, to work as labourers or in household service to make ends meet. In fact several of Clervaux's tenants did hold land elsewhere, some of it freehold. A case in point is John Bellamy, husbandman of Stapleton, and presumably a kinsman of the farmer in Stapleton, who held a paltry quarter acre of freehold in Croft field until his exchange with Clervaux in 1468, but also had land in Jolby and Stapleton. His modest wealth is indicated not only by

³⁵ Cler. Cart. ff. 145-5d, 157d, 158d, 159-9d, 161.

³⁶ Cler. Cart. ff. 159d, 160, 161, 167d. Thompson, *Y.A.J.* 30, p. 110.

³⁷ Cler. Cart. f. 149d.

³⁸ See R. H. Hilton, *The Decline of Serfdom in Medieval England* (1969); M. M. Postan, *Cambridge Economic History*, i, pp. 617-28.

³⁹ Cler. Cart. ff. 147, 158d. It is of particular interest that the cartulary contains evidence of the word 'yeoman' being used to describe both social status and official function in the same community at approximately the same date. See R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *Rymes of Robyn Hood* (1976), pp. 34-5.

his title of husbandman, but also by the fact that in 1450 he was sued for damages to the tune of £10 after his cattle had strayed onto the land in Jolby of William Pudsay of Selaby.⁴⁰ Again William Manners, who held 18 acres in Croft also had 5½ acres of freehold land in no less than fifteen separate strips scattered throughout Jolby field which he sold to Clervaux in 1465.

Some of these men were also rising in the world. William Manners, son of William Manners above, had migrated to Bishop Auckland in 1465 and so was willing to surrender his claim to his father's freehold land. William Thuglisth of East Cowton, who inherited one messuage and one oxgang of freehold land in 1450, left four messuages and three oxgangs to his son Richard when he died in 1476, which were estimated for the purpose of relief to have an annual value of 40s. beyond charge. This put Richard into the enfranchised élite, although his holding was not much larger than those of husbandmen such as Manners and John Bellamy and was distinctly smaller than those of any of the four yeomen living in the parish. Incomplete and fragmentary as this evidence is, it suggests that amongst Richard Clervaux's tenants in Croft and the neighbouring townships there was a small group of prosperous men on the threshold of gentility and on the fringe of the society in which Clervaux himself moved.⁴¹

* * * * *

Richard Clervaux was undoubtedly a leading member of the gentry community of Richmondshire. From the marriage alliances negotiated by his grandfather and himself and from the lists of the more important witnesses to his charters over the years 1443–1478 one can reconstruct a clear picture of his social circle. The marriages of the eldest Clervaux son in the fifteenth century tended to be made with the leading gentry families of Yorkshire and beyond. Richard's mother was Margaret, daughter of Sir Ralph Lumley of Lumley, County Durham, a niece of Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmorland, through whom he claimed sanguinity with the Yorkist kings. He himself was married in 1442 to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Vavasour of Hazlewood in the West Riding. His eldest son John was married to Jane, daughter of John Hussey of Sleaford, Lincs., and sister of William Hussey, Chief Justice of King's Bench, 1481–1495. And their daughter and heiress, Margery, was married to John Fitzwilliam of Sprotburgh in the West Riding.⁴² Younger children were married into the more local gentry, although some of these were impressive matches. The marriages of Richard's uncles and aunts related him to many of his neighbours. His uncle Thomas (still living 1465) married Isabel, daughter of Robert Conyers of Sockburn. His five aunts were married as follows: Margaret to William Vincent of Great Smeaton (still living 1450) on whom her father had settled all the Clervaux property in Smeaton; Joan to Henry Tailboys of Hurworth (died 1444), a younger son of Sir Walter Tailboys of Kyme, Lincolnshire who was lord of the manor, on whom her father had settled his lands in Hurworth; Beatrix to John Killinghall of Middleton St. George (died 1442); Agnes to John Headlam of Stainton in the Carrs (died in 1461) of whose will Clervaux was an executor; and Elizabeth to William de Levesham, citizen of York, on whom her father had settled lands in Monkgate.⁴³ Richard himself had only one younger brother who was married, but to whom is not known. Richard's own children were married as follows: his

⁴⁰ Cler. Cart. ff. 147, 159d; R. P. Littledale, *The Pudsay Deeds* (Y.A.S. Record series, 56, 1916), p. 41.

⁴¹ Cler. Cart. ff. 160, 167d. For the most recent discussion of the fifteenth century franchise see D. Hirst, *The Representative of the People?* (1975), pp. 29–30.

⁴² These details and those that follow are from Longstaffe's authoritative pedigree of the Clervaux which has no pagination.

⁴³ For Vincent see Cler. Cart., f. 131d; *V.C.H., Yorks*, I, p. 198; for Tailboys see Cler. Cart., f. 128; R. Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, 4 vols., (1816–40), III, p. 254; for Killinghall see *The Victoria History of the County of Durham*, ed. W. Page, III (1928), p. 296; Surtees, *Durham*, III, pp. 221–2; for Headlam see Surtees, *Durham*, I, pp. 98–9 and *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society, 30 for 1855), p. 247.

second son Marmaduke, who eventually inherited the estate, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Strangways of West Harlsey; his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, first to William Fitz-Henry of Manfield and second to William Clerionet of Richmond (c. 1483); Margaret to Thomas Laton, eldest son of Robert Laton of Sexhow, Melsonby and Barton in 1458; Joan to Christopher Aske of Dalton in Kirby Ravensworth; and Isabel to William Conyers of Wynyard, County Durham, son and heir to Roger Conyers, fourth son of Christopher Conyers of Hornby. A son, Robert, seems to have remained unmarried; another, Henry, died young; and a daughter, Beatrix, became a nun. Of the marriages of his younger children those that brought him into the circle of prominent servants of the Nevills of Middleham were most significant. Sir James Strangways (c. 1410–80) was a life-long confidante of Richard, Earl of Salisbury and his son, Richard, Earl of Warwick. Strangways was the brother-in-law of Sir John Conyers of Hornby, a man equally committed to the Nevills, who was an uncle of Clervaux's son-in-law, William Conyers.⁴⁴

Many of Richard's uncles, cousins and sons-in-law acted from time to time as witnesses to his many land transactions. But the man who acted most frequently for him and who seems to have been his closest associate in his earlier years, Sir Ralph Pudsay of Bolton in Bowland and Barforth in Richmondshire, was not apparently related to him. Pudsay (c. 1390–1468) was a witness to deeds seven times between 1443 and 1452 and once again in 1465. A man of his father's generation, Pudsay may have been Richard's principal adviser and mentor in his formative years. Richard's first recorded public appearance was when he witnessed in 1440 a grant of lands in Barforth to Pudsay's kinsman William Pudsay of Selaby. In April 1461 another William Pudsay, one of Ralph's many sons (he had twenty-five children by three marriages) was presented by St. Mary's Abbey, York to the living of Croft, no doubt on Clervaux's recommendation.⁴⁵ William's sister Isabel was married to Clervaux's neighbour Robert Place who acted as a witness almost as frequently as Pudsay, six times between 1443 and 1458.⁴⁶ Of Richard's relations, his uncle Henry Tailboys acted once as a witness in 1443 and uncle William Vincent three times in the 1440s. Of his cousins, John Killinghall witnessed six deeds (1444–67), Christopher Conyers (of Sockburn) five (1451–66), Thomas Tailboys three (1458–66) and Roger Vincent two (1463–5). Of those with whom Richard himself forged marriage alliances, Sir James Strangways was a witness four times between 1444 and 1465, Robert Laton four times between 1452 and 1467 and Christopher Aske just once in 1471.⁴⁷ There were other members of the local gentry in addition to Pudsay and Place who had no blood relationship with Clervaux, who were called upon to witness deeds. Most prominent among them were William Frank of Kneeton, five times between 1447 and 1453; John and William Catterick of Stanwick, four times between 1457 and 1463; and Thomas Surtees of Dinsdale, Sir James Strangway's nephew, three times in 1465–6. And finally there were the following on the odd occasion: Sir John Conyers of Hornby in 1444 and 1463; Thomas Metham of Stapleton in 1451; John Wycliff of Wycliff in 1451; Thomas Mountford of Hackforth in 1463 and Christopher Boynton of Sedbury in 1465.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ For Strangways see J. S. Roskell, 'Sir James Strangeways of West Harlsey and Whorlton', *Y.A.J.*, 34 (1958), pp. 455–81 and *The Commons and their Speakers in English Parliaments, 1376–1523* (1965), pp. 271–5; for FitzHenry see *V.C.H., Yorks*, I, p. 91; for Laton see *V.C.H., Yorks*, I, pp. 151–2; for Aske see *V.C.H., Yorks*, I, p. 91; and for Conyers of Wynyard see *V.C.H., Durham*, III, p. 252 and *Surtees*, Durham, III, p. 79. It is to be noted that Conyers of Hornby was lord of the manor of Solberge and Strangways was lord of a moiety of the manor of Warlaby, in both of which places Clervaux held property.

⁴⁵ Cler. Cart. ff. 145, 145d, 146d, 158, 160, 161; Littledale, *Pudsay Deeds*, pp. 38, 353 Thompson, *Y.A.J.*, 30, pp. 127–8.

⁴⁶ Cler. Cart., ff. 158, 160, 161, 161d.

⁴⁷ Cler. Cart., ff. 158 (Henry Tailboys) 158, 161, 161d (William Vincent) 146d, 157, 159, 160, 161d (Killinghall); 145, 147, 159, 160 (Conyers); 159, 160 (Thomas Tailboys); 147 (Roger Vincent); 146d, 160, 161 (Strangways); 146d, 151, 160, 161d (Laton); and 158d (Aske).

⁴⁸ Cler. Cart., ff. 146d, 160, 161, 160d (Frank); 145d, 146d (Catterick); 147, 159, 160 (Surtees); 146d, 161d (Conyers of Hornby); 145 (Metham); 145d (Wycliff); 146d (Mountford); and 152d (Boynton).

These representatives of nineteen gentry families, many of whom were relatives, all of whom were resident within twelve miles of Croft, witnessed those agreements reached by Clervaux not only with members of their own class but also with men of much lower status, husbandmen such as William Manners or William Hodding. On one occasion only, on 18 November 1471 when Richard Stertforth of Dalton granted all his lands in Croft to Clervaux, were the witnesses themselves predominantly of lower status. On this unique occasion they were his son-in-law Christopher Aske, his chaplain William Smethon and the two local yeomen, Robert Bellamy and William Hobson. Not all of the deeds transcribed in the Cartulary concern Clervaux's land transactions. From time to time one can observe Richard and his circle active in other directions. In 1450 William Vincent enfeoffed Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, three of his sons, Clervaux and John Vincent in his lands in Smeaton and elsewhere so that he could make provision for his younger son, Roger. The witnesses were Strangways, Ralph Pudsay, Christopher Conyers and Robert Place. Thirteen years later Richard called upon his friends to help resolve a dispute which had been rumbling for several years with Thomas Fitton of Cawerden, in the County of Chester, over a rent of £5 which Fitton claimed out of Croft and East Cowton. The Fittons had been lords of East Cowton before they sold it to the Clervaux in the early fourteenth century. James Strangways and John Nedeham, a justice of Common Pleas, were called in to arbitrate and in an indentured agreement made at Harlsey castle on 15 June 1463, Clervaux bought out Fitton's claim for £53 13s. 8d. to be paid in four instalments ending on 24 June 1465. Strangways, Roger Vincent and Thomas Tailboys agreed to act as Clervaux's guarantors. Three days earlier, at Croft, Fitton had ceremoniously quit his claim to the rent in the presence of Strangways, Sir John Conyers, Thomas Mountford John Catterick and John Killinghall.⁴⁹

The impression given by these deeds is of a peaceful and harmonious society of gentry. So it seems to have been until in the 1470s a quarrel blew up between Clervaux and Rowland the son of Robert Place who succeeded his father at Halnaby at the end of the 1460s. This quarrel was only settled by the intervention of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. On 20 March 1478 Clervaux and Place agreed to accept the arbitration of Gloucester and bound themselves over in £100 until such time as Gloucester should make his award. At Middleham Castle on 12 April, Gloucester, 'tendirring the peas and welle of the contre where the said parties inhabite and also gladly willyng gode concorde reste frendly suite to be had fro hensfurth between the sayde parties', duly made known his decision. The terms laid down were as follows: the parties should construct a fence between their properties before Easter next, so that cattle belonging to them or their tenants do not stray on each other's land, and if it should so happen that cattle should stray then they should not pound them nor take amends for the hurt but 'esely' drive them back; both parties should remain content with exchange of lands made between them (in 1474); both parties and their wives should be content to occupy the pews in the parish church which their ancestors had always used—Clervaux on the south side of the chancel, Place on the north; neither party should retain or take to service the other's servant or tenant; neither should hunt, hawk or fish each other's game, and if any hounds chase game into the other's land the hunter is not to follow them but to call them back whilst the other whose land has been trespassed upon should 'rebuke' them and do no other hurt. Having thus dealt with these five matters of dispute between the neighbours, Gloucester appointed Thomas Mountford, William Burgh of Brough Hall, near Catterick, William Pudsay, parson of Bolton-in-Bowland (late of Croft) and Thomas Frank to act as guarantors of the agreement and arbitrators in any future dispute. And indeed two years later the arbitrators were called upon to settle a dispute about the possession of part of the dike which lay between their lands and the responsibility for its maintenance. An agreement over this reached at Croft on 22 May 1480 seems to have been the

⁴⁹ Cler. Cart., ff. 158–8d, 148, 146d.

last of their quarrels. It has been suggested that a lasting reconciliation between the neighbours was marked by their jointly building a new porch to the parish church, for the arms of Clervaux and Place with the initials 'R.C.' and 'R.P.' now set in the tower, were before the rebuilding of the church in 1878 placed over the doorway.⁵⁰

* * * * *

A man of Clervaux's means and standing in the county community carried political weight. His father, Sir John Clervaux, had been a justice of the peace in the North Riding and sheriff of the county in 1430. As a young man Richard appeared to be on the threshold of a more brilliant career at court. He was approximately the same age as the young King Henry VI and was already a member of the élite group of esquires of the body in February 1444, a few months after his father's death, when a flow of patronage in his direction began. He was in attendance during the destruction of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester at Bury St. Edmunds in February 1447, during which, like many others, he felt it prudent to purchase a general pardon. And at the end of this year he was appointed escheator in Yorkshire, which would have appeared to many to have been the first of many such royal offices. His rising star was clearly recognised by his more prominent neighbours. One assumes that it was because of his potential value at court that he was retained first by Robert Nevill, Bishop of Durham, on 20 April 1445 and secondly by Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, on 20 January 1448.⁵¹ But after this his promising career comes to a sudden end and the flow of patronage dries up. Why this happened we do not know. He withdrew from court before the fall of Suffolk and so could not have been implicated in his disgrace. It is just possible that he was implicated with Sir William Tailboys, his kinsman and absentee neighbour at Hurworth, in his reign of terror in Lincolnshire for which Tailboys received a scandalous pardon.⁵² Some form of involvement in Lincolnshire society is suggested by the marriage of his eldest son into the Hussey family of Sleaford. But, if this was the case, it would seem to be an unlikely reason for his eclipse whilst Tailboys still enjoyed protection. More probable is that he was already beginning to suffer from that debilitating ill-health which appears to have left him a complete invalid by 1463. For in January 1463 Edward IV exempted him from all public service in person because, as the king was reliably informed, 'ye be vexed with such infirmite and disease that ye ne bee of any power to labure without great jeopardie'. Whatever the disease was it was not terminal, for Richard had another 28 years left to him after this.⁵³ It is possible then that ill-health was responsible for ending Richard's career at court when he was still only a young man. Certainly there was a dramatic change in direction in Richard's interests around 1448. It was at this time that the first surge in the consolidation of the estate at Croft began and shortly afterwards the cartulary, the up-to-date record of all his property, was compiled.

Clervaux's poor health, if such it was, did not leave him completely without political significance. His wealth, his servants, his tenants and his social connections still gave him local weight. But after 1450 his political interest was only that of a member of the Richmondshire gentry. He was now of the county rather than of the court. Politics in Richmondshire between 1450 and 1490 were dominated by one force—the wealth, prestige and power of the lords of Middleham. Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury until 1460, his son Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick from 1460 to 1471, and above all Warwick's son-in-law Richard, Duke of Gloucester, later Richard III, from 1471–85 were the unchallenged rulers of north-

⁵⁰ Cler. Cart., ff. 155–6d; Longstaffe, *Darlington*, pp. lxix–xx; Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, I, 239–40.

⁵¹ Cler. Cart., ff. 143–4d; Longstaffe, *Darlington*, p. lxvii; Thompson, *Arch. Ael.*, xvii, pp. 39–40.

⁵² Tailboys' career is discussed in detail by R. Virgoe, 'William Tailboys and Lord Cromwell: Crime and Politics in Lancastrian England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 55 (1973), pp. 459–82. His misdeeds are also referred to by R. L. Storey in 'Lincolnshire and the Wars of the Roses', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 14 (1970), pp. 64–82.

⁵³ Cler. Cart., f. 154; Longstaffe, *Darlington*, p. lxviii.

west Yorkshire. Clervaux always had his friends within the Middleham connection. He made marriage alliances with Sir James Strangways of Harlsey, and the Conyers of Hornby, both prominent retainers of the Earl of Salisbury. Moreover his uncle, Sir Thomas Lumley, his mother's brother, was also a prominent supporter of the Nevills of Middleham.⁵⁴ And, by no means least of all, he himself had been retained by Salisbury's brother, the Bishop of Durham since 1445. But Clervaux also had associations outside the Middleham connection which were to come into conflict with it during the 1450s. Sir Ralph Pudsay of Bolton was a staunch supporter of the Percy family and Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, Clervaux's other patron, was a deadly enemy of Salisbury. These matters were of little consequence in 1450. Thus it was possible for Salisbury, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, his three sons, Strangways and Pudsay to meet together at Great Smeaton on 6 May in that year to take part in the settlement of old William Vincent's inheritance.⁵⁵ Within three years all was changed: Nevill and Strangways were ranged against Percy and Pudsay. Clervaux was not involved directly in any of the conflicts which disturbed Yorkshire between 1453 and 1455. But as the local feud became inextricably bound up with the dynastic conflict between Lancaster and York he was obliged eventually to declare himself. He chose with Pudsay and Westmorland against the Middleham connection for Percy and Lancaster. The death of Robert Nevill, Bishop of Durham in 1457 may have smoothed his path in this direction. Clervaux's general sympathies towards the court and his acceptability there may be indicated by his being appointed on 16 August with Sir Thomas Nevill of Brancepeth (the Earl of Westmorland's nephew) to collect the temporalities of the see during the vacancy. But it was only during the outright civil war of 1459–61 that Richard showed his hand. He was still an Esquire of the Body and a basic loyalty to the crown, perhaps even a personal attachment to the king, ensured his open opposition to the Yorkists after the rout of Ludford and the attainders of York, Salisbury, Sir John Conyers and others of their principal lieutenants at the Coventry Parliament of November 1459. He was rewarded, and his loyalty encouraged, by the grant of the office of understeward and bailiff of Richmond Castle on 13 January 1460. A month earlier John, Lord Nevill, the Earl of Westmorland's brother, had been granted the offices of constable and steward. On 13 May following Clervaux was additionally granted the custody of the manor of Deighton near Northallerton, one of the Earl of Salisbury's forfeited possessions, for a farm of £14 3s. 4d. *per annum* (hardly a knock-down price). At least one other of Richard's friends and neighbours also rallied to the court. John Catterick of Stanwick was appointed on 7 March to the Commission of the Peace and a week later to a commission to enquire into the goods and chattels of the Yorkist lords in the county. It may only have been Richard's uncertain health which kept him off these important commissions. The revolution of 1460–1461 which led eventually to Edward IV's seizure of the throne reversed all this. On 8 October his grants of earlier in the year were revoked by Act of Parliament, but for the time being Salisbury could not reimpose his authority as the whole of Yorkshire was firmly in Lancastrian hands.⁵⁶ Clervaux himself presumably was not fit enough to join Margaret of Anjou's army mustering in the county for the final test of strength with the Yorkists—although he may have sent a detachment of servants and tenants. Richard had to sit at Croft during the early months of 1461 awaiting events until news reached him, quite possibly brought by fleeing troops, of the Lancastrians' shattering defeat at Towton on 29 March. With the establishment of the new régime in which the new Nevill Lord of Middleham, the Earl of Warwick, was all powerful, Clervaux and all the loyal Lancastrian gentry of Richmondshire had to start picking up the pieces again.

⁵⁴ Pollard, *Northern History*, II, pp. 57–8.

⁵⁵ Cler. Cart., f. 148; Longstaffe, *Darlington*, p. lxvi. The Pudsays' involvement on the Percy side in the private wars of 1453–5 is described by R. A. Griffiths in 'Local Rivalries and National Politics: the Percies, the Nevills and the Duke of Exeter, 1452–55', *Speculum*, 43 (October 1968).

⁵⁶ Cler. Cart., f. 144d; (C)alendar of (P)atent (R)olls, 1452–61, pp. 368, 540–1, 543, 547, 564, 647, 683.

For Richard Clervaux his old lines of communication with the Middleham connection were still open. Sir James Strangways was now retained by Warwick, with enhanced fees, and was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1461 and Richard's uncle Thomas was now Lord Lumley, restored to his family title and serving with Warwick in the pacification of the Scottish Marches. It was perhaps through one of these two that Warwick was persuaded to press Richard's suit with the new king while he was staying at Middleham in January 1463. For it was 'at thinstance' of Warwick that Edward IV issued his warrant authorising Clervaux 'to abide at youre awne place or any other to your ease' on account of his infirmity. Clervaux's exemption from all public service may have been sought because at that time pressure was being put on him to join the forces besieging the Northumberland castles. A proviso in the letter carefully spelled out that Clervaux was always to be prepared to send his servants and tenants arrayed for the defence of the land, 'in competent nombre to the same entent accordyng with your degree as other gentylmen of the cuntre about you of like reputacon shall doo.'⁵⁷ But it is nevertheless a testimony not only to the Yorkist's need for support in the area, but also to Clervaux's capacity for survival, that he was already being granted favours within two years of the establishment of the Yorkist dynasty. There was obviously no question of his going to the wall for Henry VI.

During Edward IV's reign Clervaux drew closer to the Middleham connection, although he does not appear to have become a feed member of it. He was, as contemporaries put it, a well-willer to Warwick and then Gloucester. Several of his friends were retained by both men. In addition to Strangways and Conyers, William Frank of Kneeton and Thomas Mountford of Hackforth were both receiving Warwick's fee in 1465. Clervaux played no recorded part in the upheavals of 1469–71, but it is no surprise that he found it necessary to purchase a royal pardon on 5 November 1472. One may reasonably guess that he publicly declared himself for the Readeption of Henry VI. Richard of Gloucester's succession to Warwick's position in the north through his marriage to his daughter Anne caused no apparent tremors amongst the gentry of Richmondshire and the King's brother easily donned the mantle of his erstwhile enemy. New men were retained by the new lord of Middleham: Rowland, a younger son of Sir Ralph Pudsay and brother of William, rector of Croft, was retained by Gloucester on 26 October 1471 with a fee of £5; another was Clervaux's neighbour at Eryholme, Sir Thomas Markenfield, retained in December with a fee of £10; and a third was Sir Roger Conyers of Wynyard retained in September 1473 with a fee of £6 13s. 4d.⁵⁸ Clervaux's closer association with Gloucester's all powerful circle is perhaps indicated by the appointment of Richard Ratcliffe, one of Gloucester's most trusted servants, to the stewardship of the free court of East Cowton. Such stewardships were often employed in political patronage; at a higher level William Lord Hastings, the trusted confidant of King Edward IV, had collected a string of stewardships from anxious or ambitious noblemen and women. Ratcliffe, who was then constable of Gloucester's fortress at Barnard Castle, was steward of East Cowton by the middle of 1476. Moreover, Clervaux's path to favour with the Duke may well have been smoothed by the presence of his wife's nephew, John Vavasour, in Gloucester's council.⁵⁹ Later one of Clervaux's daughters, Elizabeth, was to marry another of Gloucester's retainers, William Clerionet, as her second husband. It was thus apparently the normal course of action for Clervaux and Rowland Place to turn eventually to Gloucester in 1478 to settle their differences.⁶⁰ The full extent to which Richard had become involved in Gloucester's affinity was revealed during the usurpation of the throne; for on 26 September 1483, in gratitude for the recent unspeci-

⁵⁷ Cler. Cart., f. 154. See also above p. 00–00.

⁵⁸ Public Record Office, Special Collections 6/1083/20, and Duchy of Lancaster 29/648/10485; G. M. Coles, 'The Lordship of Middleham' (unpub. M.A. thesis, Liverpool Univ. 1961), Appendix B, pp. 12–18.

⁵⁹ Cler. Cart., f. 167d; K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (1973), pp. 107–8; J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament, Biographies of the Members of the House of Commons 1439–1509* (1936), p. 904.

⁶⁰ Cler. Cart., f. 155–6; see also above.

fied services of both Richard and his son Marmaduke, Clervaux, who already held by King Richard's grant the offices of steward and receiver of the lordship of Manfield during the minority of John FitzHenry (his grandson, be it remembered), was additionally granted the whole revenue of the lordship without account. What the service was we do not know, but it may possibly have been that Marmaduke Clervaux had taken a 'competent nombre' of Croft servants and tenants, defensively arrayed, to London in the company of Ralph, Lord Nevill of Raby at the end of June. That Richard remained close to the new king is confirmed by the grant to 'the King's servant', Richard Clervaux esquire, of a tun of wine from the customs at Hull on 10 August 1484.⁶¹ What part he or his men played in 1485 we do not know, but Richard III's defeat and death at Bosworth was potentially more disastrous to Clervaux than the failure of the House of Lancaster in 1461, for he and the men of Richmondshire had put all their eggs in King Richard's basket.

In some ways the last five years of Richard Clervaux's life are the most remarkable in his long political career. The destruction of Richard III meant also the destruction of the Middleham connection which had been a steadily growing force in English politics since 1450. In the last eighteen months it had even been the instrument by which Richard III had ruled the antagonistic south.⁶² In the aftermath of Bosworth it was thrown into disarray. It is not surprising that many of the gentry and lesser inhabitants of Richmondshire found it difficult to accept Henry Tudor and provided the only sustained resistance to the new king. In the spring of April 1486, while Henry VII was making his first visit to York, 'these ingrates from the north', as the Croyland continuator called them, were reported to be gathering under Lord Lovell 'beyond Middleham'. In the following year the Earl of Lincoln, after landing with Lambert Simnel in Lancashire, made straight to north Yorkshire where he believed, 'he hath frendes enough upon the land'. And while Lincoln marched south into Nottinghamshire to take on the King's army at Stoke, John Lord Scrope of Bolton led a contingent of Richmondshire men in a vain attempt to seize York. Even as late as 1489 there were treasonable disturbances in Wensleydale and Swaledale and it has reasonably been suggested that one of the causes of the murder of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, in the same year was lingering resentment against his desertion of King Richard at Bosworth.⁶³ Henry Tudor found it difficult to win friends in Richmondshire in the first five years of his reign.

But Henry VII found one in old Richard Clervaux. Clervaux probably helped rally Richmondshire to the crown in the summer of 1487, for on 10 August, at Durham, Henry was pleased to renew the grant of a tun of wine from Hull to the newly dubbed *Sir* Richard Clervaux. Two years later his son was escheator for Yorkshire. But Richard himself was still unable to take up any royal or public office and was obliged to renew his letters of exemption on 20 June 1489.⁶⁴ But now age was creeping up on him as well and in the following year he died. In these last years, as befitted the new régime, Richard made the most of his old Lancastrian connections. His epitaph, inscribed on his vast table tomb in Croft church, reads (in translation):

Here buried beneath this marble lies Richard Clervaux,
One time lord of Croft, God have mercy on him;
He was esquire to the body of King Henry the sixth,

⁶¹ British Library, Harleian mss. 433, f. 118; Cler. Cart., f. 150; C.P.R., 1477–85 p. 482. *Paston Letters*, ed. J. Gairdner, Vol. 3 (1875), p. 306.

⁶² See Charles Ross, *The Wars of the Roses* (1976), p. 98. This facet of Richard III's reign is explored more fully in Charles Ross's forthcoming *Richard III* and Pollard, 'The Tyranny of Richard III' *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977), pp. 157–62.

⁶³ 'Croyland Chronicle', ed. H. T. Riley in *Ingulphs Chronicles* (1854), p. 509; *York Civic Records*, II, ed. A. Raine (Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record series, 1941), pp. 9–10; *The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil*, ed. D. Hay (Camden Society, 1950), pp. 11, 39. See also the brief discussion in M. A. Hicks, 'The career of Henry Percy, 4th earl of Northumberland' (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Southampton, 1971), pp. 69–74.

⁶⁴ Cler. Cart., f. 150–50d; C.P.R. 1485–94, pp. 175, 266. Clervaux's nephew, John Vavasour, was another who rallied quickly to Henry VII.

Whom God brought to the stars of high heaven;
Next he was of the blood of both Edward the fourth,
And of Richard the third in the third degree;
Who died in the year of our Lord fourteen hundred and ninety.⁶⁵

It is Richard's politically remembered service to Henry VI which is given prominence here, not his wholehearted support for the late King Richard. And it is expressed in terms which clearly reflect Henry Tudor's campaign to have the last Lancastrian canonized. The epitaph thus reflects not only a Lancastrian attachment, but also a newly found commitment to the Tudors. To make the point clear the northern and southern sides of the tomb were decorated with the arms of Vavasour (for his wife) and Clervaux (sable, a saltire or) each surrounded by a collar of Lancastrian SS. Thus Clervaux ended where he began; a loyal servant of the House of Lancaster.

* * * * *

In his Ford Lectures delivered over fifty years ago, C. L. Kingsford made the following comment:

the *Stonor Letters* afford us no evidence to suggest that either social disorder or civil war necessarily affected the lives of those who through their prudence or good fortune were not entangled in either. What we do get is a picture of the country gentleman busy with the management of his estates, taking his share in the work of local administration, living in friendly intercourse with neighbours in like circumstances to himself . . .⁶⁶

This could stand as well for Richard Clervaux as it does for Thomas Stonor. Clervaux was typical of the county gentry of his age. With great circumspection Clervaux avoided entanglement in the civil wars. As Longstaffe put it, 'like his own willows in the holmes of Croft, Clervaux prudently bent to every storm and was always a loyal subject to whatever king was uppermost at that day'.⁶⁷ One cannot be sure whether this was entirely of his own volition. There is reason to suppose that Clervaux was forced to withdraw from the centre of national politics by his own infirmity: not many men abandoned willingly a promising career at the court of Henry VI. But whether or not it was engendered by his physical condition Clervaux's political dexterity is apparent: he not only survived, but also prospered from his troubled and uncertain times. Like so many of his contemporaries he began a loyal Lancastrian, became a Yorkist and accepted Tudor. No doubt in his closing years he found it easy to sweep under the carpet his one-time attachment to the last Yorkist and convince himself that he had always been a Lancastrian at heart, but his pragmatism, even cynicism, is typical of the established county squire in fifteenth-century England.

For it is the case that in the later fifteenth century men like Clervaux had come to be wary of dynastic politics and their attendant risks.⁶⁸ Far more important to them was the possession and enjoyment of their inheritances and the maintenance of their 'worship' or 'reputation' within their own local communities. It was Clervaux's standing with his tenants and with his neighbours in Richmondshire that mattered most to him. This played a crucial role in shaping his political career, but it was also reflected in his fierce pride in his blood and place. Clervaux prided himself as being of the ancient landed gentry of Richmondshire. The monolithic tomb, the assumption of the title of lord of the manor, the time-consuming concentration of his hold on the township of Croft, and above all the compilation of the cartulary itself which records the process—all suggest a man determined to let no one

⁶⁵ See Appendix II, below, pp. 168.

⁶⁶ Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise*, p. 63.

⁶⁷ Longstaffe, *Darlington*, p. lxviii.

⁶⁸ See K. B. McFarlane, 'The Wars of the Roses', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1 (1965), pp. 117-19 and Ross, *Wars of the Roses*, pp. 151-7 for discussion of the craven mood of the political nation as a whole by 1485.

forget that he was master of Croft-on-Tees. It is arguable that Clervaux's career after his withdrawal from court was guided by his determination that nothing should disrupt his assumed role as lord of Croft: kings could come and kings could go, but his blood would be lords of Croft for ever.⁶⁹

APPENDIX I LAND MEASUREMENT

The land granted to William Clervaux by Roald son of Roald came to 20 oxgangs and 31 acres. It is impossible to give a conversion of this into statute acres. This is because the measurements of neither oxgangs nor acres was uniform in the middle ages. An oxgang, customarily an eighth of a carucate, is generally taken to be 12 acres. But within the neighbourhood of Croft there was wide variation. At Stapleton in 1465 an oxgang was said to contain 8 acres. At Hurworth the 12 acres granted to Henry Tailboys and Joan his wife in the early fifteenth century was said to be an oxgang. But in Bondgate, Darlington in 1506 the Bishop's demesne was measured in oxgangs of 15 acres each.⁷⁰ I have not been able to find any specification of the size of an oxgang in Croft. In 1410 John Clervaux exchanged one and a half oxgangs, 3 acres and one cottage in Croft for two messuages and two oxgangs in Walmire, which suggests that an oxgang was taken to be 8 acres in those two places.⁷¹ But even if this is correct, one is still left with the problem of exactly what an acre was. There were three kinds of acre; measured, customary and fiscal. There is no way of telling which was used at Croft—indeed all three could have been. That customary acres were used is indicated by the usage in several deeds of the division of 1 acre into 4 selions (or strips) rather than roods.⁷² The exact size of a selion and therefore an acre of selions must have varied according to the topography. It is worth recalling Maitland's remark that 'to tell a man that one of these acre strips was not an acre because it was too small would at one time have been like telling him that his foot was not a foot because it fell short of twelve inches'.⁷³ Thus an oxgang of 8 acres could well have included more than 8 statute acres. Because of this, I have not tried to make concise comparisons, or offered exact totals of land: I have everywhere cited the actual measurements given in the cartulary.

APPENDIX II RICHARD CLERVAUX'S EPITAPH⁷⁴

The translation of the epitaph enscribed on Clervaux's tomb has posed problems for his historians. The text is as follows:

Clervaux Ricardus jacet hic sub marmorie⁷⁵ clausus:
Crofte quondam dominus huic miserere deus:
armiger Henrici regis et pro corpore sexti:
quem deus exelsi duxit ad astra poli:
sanguinis Edwardi quarti ternique Ricardi:
gradibus in ternis alter utrique fuit:
qui obiit anno domini mccccclxxxx.

⁶⁹ The Clervaux died out in the male line in 1591 and Croft passed to Anthony Chaytor in right of his mother, Elizabeth Clervaux (d. 1584). His descendants have occupied the estate ever since. The later history of the family is to be found in brief in Longstaffe, *Darlington*, pp. lxxii–xxix and *V.C.H., Yorks.*, I, p. 165. A full study of the Chaytors is yet to be undertaken. The materials for this exist in collections of family papers in the Durham Record Office and the North Yorkshire Record Office. The Durham Record Office has compiled a useful calendar of the Chaytor Papers which contains much that is relevant to Croft in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

⁷⁰ Cler. Cart. ff 149; 127d–28; N. Sutherland, *Tudor Darlington*, I, (1974), p. 22.

⁷¹ Cler. Cart. f. 64.

⁷² e.g. Cler. Cart. f. 35d.

⁷³ F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Fontana Library, 1960), p. 442.

⁷⁴ I am grateful to Mr. H. MacL. Currie for his advice on the latin in the epitaph.

⁷⁵ This is as inscribed and is a correction of Longstaffe's transcription which gives the proper form of the word.

It is the fifth and sixth lines, the third of the elegiac couplets, especially the words *alter utrique*, which have caused the difficulty. Longstaffe was satisfied with '(he was) of the blood of Edward IV. and Richard III., in the third degree the one to the other';⁷⁶ a translation which makes little sense and effectively avoids the problem. Thompson argued that Longstaffe missed the point of *alter*, which he suggested referred to *armiger pro corpore* in the third line. Thus he offered a translation of the second and third couplets as follows:

Esquire of the body to King Henry VI, whom God brought
to the stars of high heaven, he was of the blood of both
Edward IV and the third Richard in the third degree
*and was also esquire to both*⁷⁷

This is both historically and grammatically unsatisfactory. Historically there is no evidence at all to corroborate the suggestion that Clervaux was esquire to the two Yorkists. That he was esquire to Edward IV is entirely implausible. That he was an esquire to Richard III is more conceivable, but here all we have is the evidence that he was the King's servant, a very loose designation, applied to well-wishers as much as to men actually retained by the King and distinct from the formal and honoured position of Esquire to the Body. In view of what we know of Clervaux's ill health it is unlikely that he was ever more than a well-wisher.⁵ Grammatically we are faced with the awkward latin of the whole piece. *Alter* should refer to the subject of the epitaph, *Clervaux Ricardus*, and not to *armiger* as Thompson suggested. In addition to meaning 'the other of two', 'one of two' (the sense adopted by Longstaffe) it is regularly used in latin of all periods as an ordinal numerical adjective with the sense of 'second' or 'next'. This could well be the sense here, following an implied 'first' in the second couplet. Thompson's translation of *uterque* as 'both' raises no problem. Thus an alternative translation of the third couplet could be:

next he was of the blood of *both* Edward the fourth
and of Richard the third in the third degree.

This makes complete sense historically, for Richard Clervaux was just this. All three had a common great-grandfather in John, Lord Nevill (d. 1388). Clervaux's maternal grandmother was John's daughter Eleanor, the sister of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, the Yorkist king's maternal grandfather.⁷⁸ They were, in short, second cousins.

Thompson was undoubtedly right when he wrote, 'it must be owned that the author was hampered in clearness of expression by the exigencies of latin verse', and we may never be certain of his exact intention; but the translation given above is suggested as more satisfactory than those offered by either Thompson or Longstaffe.

⁷⁶ Longstaffe, *Darlington*, p. lxxii.

⁷⁷ Thompson, *Arch. Ael.* xvii, p. 5.

⁷⁸ See the discussion above.

SAXTON'S APPRENTICESHIP: JOHN RUDD, A YORKSHIRE CARTOGRAPHER

BY DAVID MARCOMBE

Summary The career of John Rudd (c. 1498–1579), a pluralistic cleric, is examined. His main interest was in cartography but none of his maps can be traced, unless Mercator's map of the British Isles of 1564 was his work. Christopher Saxton, who described Rudd as his master in 1570 and came from near his vicarage of Dewsbury, may have been trained by Rudd in map-making and have used his surveys as a source for his published maps.

John Rudd was born in Yorkshire in about 1498, though nothing is known of his family or background. In 1515 he entered Clare College, Cambridge, and by 1520 had taken the degrees of B.A. and M.A: subsequently he took up a fellowship at St. John's and in 1530 was awarded a B.D. after having been ordained a priest nine years previously.¹ In his later years he was often referred to as 'Dr. Rudd', though, as in the case of his near contemporary John Dee, there is no evidence that he was ever awarded a doctorate by an English university.² During the religious changes of the 1530s Rudd seems to have adopted a markedly Catholic standpoint and as early as 1532 Cromwell was expressing displeasure about a sermon which he considered to have been inflammatory.³ Rudd cannot have heeded the warning, for in 1534, during the general purge on conservatives such as More and Fisher, he was imprisoned by Cromwell's order because in a sermon at Paul's Cross he was thought to have implied some sympathy for 'the Holy Maid of Kent' and her followers.⁴ But Rudd was not made of the stuff or martyrs. Exactly a week after the execution of the Kentish nun and four of her followers at Tyburn he made full submission before Cranmer, denying the authority of the Pope in England and acknowledging the succession of the heirs of Anne Boleyn; the archbishop graciously requested that the penitent priest should be allowed to have his licence to preach restored.⁵

Whatever the response to Cranmer's request may have been, Rudd had to wait until the execution of Cromwell and the ascendancy of the Catholic faction in the early 1540s before he reached a modest prominence in the Church of England. In 1540 he was one of the signatories of the decree of Convocation annulling the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne of Cleves and in the following year he preached before the king at Greenwich on Palm Sunday.⁶ In December 1541 Bishop Bonner chose him as preacher when Suffolk's chaplain, the Scottish reformer Alexander Seton, recanted his Protestant opinions at Paul's Cross and three years later he was again joined with Bonner as a witness to the confession of Anne Askew prior to her burning at Smithfield for renouncing transubstantiation.⁷ During this period Rudd was nominated a royal chaplain and was brought into especially close contact with the king as Clerk of the Closet, having responsibility for the running and maintenance of the royal privy chapel.⁸ Several of his accounts have survived. In 1545, for example, he

¹ J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* I, pt. iii (1924), p. 496; *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, III, pt. ii no. 2390; Addenda, I, pt. i, p. 107.

² See, for example, 'The Diary of Henry Machyn', *Camden Soc.* 42 (1848), p. 69; 'Durham Halmote Rolls' I, *Surtees Soc.* 82 (1886), pp. 190, 198, 247, 249.

³ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, V, no. 798.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, no. 303. For a general discussion see J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (1968), pp. 321–2; D. M. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, III (1959), pp. 182–191.

⁵ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, XX, pt. i, no. 391.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XV, no. 861; XVI, no. 1489, f. 183b.

⁷ 'Wriothesley's Chronicle' I, *Camden Soc.*, new series 11 (1875), p. 132, *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, XX, pt. i, no. 391.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XX pt. ii, Appendix 2 (2vi); XXXI pt. 2, no. 200. 45.

made payments for 'singing bread', for 'a mass book' and for 'mending the rich vestments', and in the following year the Treasurer of the Chamber was ordered to pay him £30 per annum to provide for poor priests at Windsor, Eton and Westminster.⁹ Intimately connected with the Crown, Rudd's promotion was assured, and before the king's death he had become vicar of the collegiate church of Norton, near Stockton, Cleveland, and enjoyed prebends in the churches of Beverley, Burton-upon-Trent and St. Stephen's, Westminster.¹⁰

Most of these promotions, however, proved to be short-lived because they were all involved with the precarious collegiate churches, the life of which was becoming increasingly doubtful after the dissolution of the monasteries. Burton-upon-Trent, a converted Benedictine house, did not even survive its founder, and Beverley and St. Stephen's fell in 1548 as a result of Somerset's Chantries Act.¹¹ Left with only his royal chaplaincy, the Vicarage of Norton, and assorted pensions from the Court of Augmentations, Rudd must have calculated that his best hope of advancement under the Edwardian régime lay in a more ostentatious display of Protestantism than he had previously thought appropriate. During the ascendancy of Northumberland he procured prebends in the newly reconstituted cathedrals of Durham and Winchester, as well as taking a wife in the person of Isabel Whildon, a woman much younger than himself.¹² With the accession of Mary, however, his marriage was enough to secure his deprivation from all the livings which he held and Rudd was faced with the choice of picking up the pieces of his shattered career or of joining the Protestant exiles overseas. Predictably he chose the former course and in September 1554 he preached at Paul's Cross, saying that he 'repented that he ever was married and said openly that he could not marry by God's law'.¹³ Once divorced and restored to his priestly order, Rudd was again free to acquire preferment, and on the last day of 1554 he was presented to the Yorkshire Vicarage of Dewsbury under a grant made by the dissolved collegiate church of St. Stephen's.¹⁴ If his first Marian appointment had depended on the goodwill of his past associates, Rudd showed his uncanny capacity for survival by winning the favour of Mary's régime and securing two additional Yorkshire livings in the gift of the Crown, the Vicarage of Hornsea-cum-Riston in 1557 and the Rectory of Thornhill in 1558.¹⁵

Elizabeth's policy of restoring deprived Edwardian clergy inevitably brought fresh upheavals and as a result of the 1559 visitation Rudd resigned the Vicarage of Hornsea and was restored to his Durham prebend and to the Vicarage of Norton;¹⁶ on a more personal note the queen's anomalous attitude to clerical marriage allowed him to remarry his ex-wife and at the age of 62 the redoubtable canon was able to resume the task of augmenting his family.¹⁷ Rudd's last piece of realignment was brought about by policy rather than by

⁹ *Ibid.*, XX pt. i, no. 418; XXI, no. 148 B.

¹⁰ 'Registers of Tunstall and Pilkington', *Surtees Soc.*, 161 (1946), p. 75; G. Oliver, *The History and Antiquities of the town and minster of Beverley* (1829), p. 182; Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, XVI, no. 1135 (9), 1391(2); pt. ii, no. 199. 15, 200. 45. He was also presented to the Dorset Rectory of Okeford Fitzpaine in 1546 but never seems to have taken up the appointment: *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, XXI pt. ii, no. 199. 16; J. Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, 3rd ed. (1873), IV, p. 334.

¹¹ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, XXI, no. 643, f. 25, p. 778; S. Shaw, *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire I*, (1798), p. 8; Oliver, *op. cit.* in n. 10, p. 188; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI* (1547-48), p. 392; *Ibid.*, (1548-40), p. 38.

¹² Venn, *op. cit.* in n. 1; *Surtees Soc.*, 161, pp. 95-6; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI* (1549-51), p. 293; *Ibid.*, (1550-53), p. 53.

¹³ *Camden Soc.*, 42, p. 69.

¹⁴ T. D. Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete* (1816), p. 426.

¹⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Philip and Mary* (1557-58), pp. 355, 426.

¹⁶ G. Poulson, *The History and Antiquities of the seignior of Holderness* (1840), I, p. 327; one John Jackson was Vicar of Hornsea in 1560. D. Marcombe, 'The Dean and Chapter of Durham, 1558-1603' (Durham Ph.D. thesis, 1973), p. 166.

¹⁷ Rudd had three sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Edmund, was born under Edward VI and died in 1577 as a fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. His younger sons, John and Joseph, were born under Elizabeth and John studied at Clare in the 1580's. His three daughters were Rachel, Elizabeth and Mary, one of whom was married to Henry Hancock of Seacroft, Yorkshire. Venn, *op. cit.* in n. 1; Durham Diocesan Records (South Road), Probate Register V, f. 80, VI, ff. 10-11; Durham Chapter Records (Prior's Kitchen), Dean and Chapter Register C, f. 88.

necessity when in 1569 he was presented to the wealthy Richmondshire Rectory of Romalldkirk by some of his colleagues in the Durham Chapter under a grant from the queen; so that his plurality did not become overtly embarrassing he resigned the Vicarage of Dewsbury in the following year.¹⁸ His religious opinions in these last years of his life are difficult to determine with any certainty, but his friends, such as the Pilkington family, were invariably of an extreme Protestant disposition, and the illicit profit which he made from the Chapter 'lotteries' prove him to have been in close contact with the ruling Puritan oligarchy of the diocese of Durham.¹⁹ When he finally died in 1579 at the advanced age of 81 he was buried in Durham Cathedral and at the end demonstrated his Protestantism by seeking salvation 'through Jesus Christ alone in whom is all my trust'.²⁰

Rudd, then, was a man who saw and experienced the full cycle of religious change in sixteenth-century England, and his flexibility in matters of faith may well have been assisted by the fact that his consuming passion and interest, in reality, lay elsewhere. As well as witnessing great spiritual change, the sixteenth century was also a period of massive advances in the art of cartography brought about by the revival of interest in classical geographers, by the voyages of discovery and by developments in surveying techniques and instruments. Rudd appears to have been one of the earliest pioneers in the history of English cartography, because as early as 1534 he declared himself to have long been a student and teacher of the mapmaker's art. In that year Rudd was languishing in the Counter (a prison of the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, either in Bread Street or the Poultry—Ed.) where he was being kept in solitary confinement in a narrow cell without even the comfort of visits from his friends. He cannot, however, have been deprived of books or paper because he wiled away the hours in making a map of the Holy Land which he sent to Roland Lee, Bishop-elect of Chester, asking him to use his influence with Cromwell to secure his release. The map, he said, was based on the work of Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo and Jerome, showed all the places mentioned in the New Testament and many in the Old, and was more accurate than any which had previously been published.²¹

The map doubtless played some part in securing his speedy release, but it is clear that Rudd was more than a mere student of the ancients. Released from the confines of a prison cell, he was an original surveyor who travelled about the country correlating and checking information at first hand. In 1561 it was said that he had 'heretofore' taken great pains to make a 'platt' of England and now intended to travel further 'for the setting forth thereof both fairer and more perfect and truer than it hath been hitherto'. It was necessary 'that he do travel by his own sight to view and consider divers parts of our said realm by reason whereof he shall be forced for a certain time to be much absent from the said Church of Durham'. Rudd expected to be away for about two years and in order to assist his work the queen wrote to the chapter ordering it to pay all the emoluments of his prebend during that period.²² When his wife died in 1582, three years after her husband, an inventory records that the walls of her home were decorated with 'the just judgement of Sallomon wyth the Queness Majestie's arms . . . iij mappes . . . one olde mappe, a painted cloth and a border', a clear indication of the direction in which Rudd's interests had lain.²³ None of his work has come to light under his own name but at least one strong possibility suggests itself. In 1564 the Flemish geographer Mercator published a fine map of the British Isles, entitled 'Angliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae nova descriptio . . .', a clear and obvious improvement on George

¹⁸ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth* (1566–69), no. 2267; T. D. Whitaker, *A History of Richmondshire* (1823), I, p. 133; *Loidis and Elmete*, pp. 304, 326. His career at Thornhill is uncertain: he may have resigned the living in 1570 or held it until his death in 1579.

¹⁹ Durham Chapter Records (prior's Kitchen), York Book, f. 2, 5; Durham Diocesan Records (South Road), Probate Register VI, f. 11. For a discussion of the 'lotteries' see Marcombe, *op. cit.* in n. 16, pp. 141–50.

²⁰ Durham Diocesan Records (South Road), Probate Register V, f. 80.

²¹ Letters and Papers, Henry VIII, VII, no. 303.

²² Durham Chapter Records (Prior's Kitchen), Dean and Chapter Register B, f. 135.

²³ 'Wills and Inventories II', *Sirtees Soc.*, 38 (1860), pp. 65–6.

Lilly's map of 1546; unfortunately Mercator does not mention his source by name but says that the original manuscript map, from which his engravings were taken, was supplied by an English friend.²⁴ Assuming that the schedule quoted in Rudd's dispensation was adhered to, it seems probable that it was he who was responsible for Mercator's map.

Despite his obvious importance, however, the name of John Rudd fades into comparative insignificance alongside that of Christopher Saxton. Camden described Saxton as 'optimus chorographus' and later historians amplified this opinion with varying degrees of enthusiasm.²⁵ Undoubtedly Saxton had a huge influence on the history of English cartography, not only by producing the most comprehensive survey of the country before the ordnance survey of 1791, but also by providing a model for successive generations of mapmakers until the eighteenth century.²⁶ For such a significant figure surprisingly little is known about his career.²⁷ The Saxtons, who originated from the neighbourhood of Wakefield, were an old-established family of yeoman stock into which Christopher was born in about 1542. He was probably educated at Cambridge, though at which college is uncertain, and first appears in his professional capacity in 1569, when he copied a chart of Belfast Lough, apparently made for Michael Fitzwilliams, Surveyor General of Lands, Plantations and Mines in Ireland.²⁸ Soon after this he became attached to the household of Thomas Sackford, Master of Requests and Surveyor of the Court of Wards, a benevolent lawyer and politician with strong geographic and antiquarian inclinations.²⁹ It was Sackford who provided the money to enable his 'servant' to map the counties of England, and in the years preceding 1579 Saxton was actively engaged in this task with the support and backing of the queen and the Privy Council.³⁰ His atlas of the English counties, respectfully dedicated to the queen, was finally published in 1579, and Saxton was rewarded with grants of land, a ten-year monopoly of the sale of his maps, and a coat of arms. Apart from his huge wall map of England and Wales, published in 1583, his later years are almost as obscure as his youth, and only odd references and plans, such as his map of Dewsbury, have come to light.³¹

Lynam thought it odd that 'this obscure young Yorkshireman could have produced, apparently with little training, such competent and finished work,'³² but in fact Saxton appears to have had an excellent training as a pupil of John Rudd. The only solid evidence of a connection between them is an incident in April 1570, when Saxton came to Durham to collect £8 6s. 8d. 'for the use of my master, Master Rudd, for his quarters stipend due at the Annunciation last.'³³ All the circumstantial evidence, however, points to a long association. As Vicar of Dewsbury, Rudd was only three miles from Saxton's home at Dunningley and doubtless used both his personal skills and his influence at Cambridge to Saxton's benefit. It was almost certainly Rudd who established court connections for Saxton, enabling him in 1569 to copy a map of some political significance, and supplying the vitally important introduction to Sackford, without which Saxton would probably have ended his days as an estate surveyor of little importance.

One final possibility deserves mention. The production of Saxton's atlas, from survey to publication, appears to have been undertaken in a mere six years, an alarmingly rapid rate

²⁴ L. Bagrow, *History of Cartography* (revised by R. A. Skelton 1964), pp. 163-4.

²⁵ E. Lynam, *The Mapmaker's Art* (1953), p. 90; R. V. Tooley, *Maps and Mapmakers* (1970), p. 66; H. G. Fordham, *Some notable surveyors and mapmakers* . . . (1929), p. 5.

²⁶ I am grateful to Mr. Raymond Eddy for allowing me to consult maps in his private collection.

²⁷ The most detailed examination of Saxton's career appears to be Sir H. G. Fordham, 'Christopher Saxton of Dunningley', *Thoresby Soc.*, 28 (1928), pp. 357-84 and 491.

²⁸ Venn, *op. cit.* in n. 1; Lynam, *op. cit.* in n. 25, pp. 63-4; PRO. MPF 77. SP. 64/1, no. 10.

²⁹ DNB. Sackford also assisted William Harrison in describing 'the rivers and streams of Britain', and Harrison's 'Description of Scotland' in Holinshed's *Chronicles* is dedicated to Sackford.

³⁰ *Acts of the Privy Council 1575-77* (Vol. IX, 1894), pp. 94, 159.

³¹ Fordham, *op. cit.* in n. 27, pp. 364-380. For Saxton's plan of Dewsbury (1600) see *Y.A.J.*, 21 (1911), pl. f. p. 345.

³² Lynam, *op. cit.* in n. 25, p. 63.

³³ Durham Chapter Records, Treasurer's Book No. 7 (1569-70), Stipends. An actual receipt, signed by Saxton, is at the back of the book.

of progress even by modern standards. Wales, for example, presented the Elizabethan traveller with peculiar problems and the Privy Council was obliged to take special measures to assist Saxton when he was working in the area. Among other things towns were expected to 'set forth a horseman that can speke both Welshe and Englishe to safe conduct him to the next market towne'.³⁴ We know that the Welsh survey began in mid-1576, yet the maps were engraved and printed by 1578. It is plain that Saxton cannot have been wholly original in his work and he probably drew on a number of sources, such as the researches of Reynold Wolfe, the printer and publisher, and of Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield. Was one of his sources perhaps the work of his 'master', John Rudd, who had devoted so many years to the pursuit of cartography, apparently with so few tangible results? Probably we shall never know. Rudd, who has been entirely overlooked in the history of English cartography, was clearly a substantial formulative influence on Saxton, but, more importantly, he also deserves recognition as a significant mapmaker in his own right.

³⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council* 1575-77 (1894), p. 159.

³⁵ Lynam, *op. cit.* in n. 25, pp. 64-5.

ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, ALLERTON MAULEVERER

BY L. A. S. BUTLER

Summary Allerton Mauleverer church was rebuilt in about 1745 by Richard Arundell. During restoration in 1976 it was possible to discover the plan of the east end of the medieval chancel and to examine the evidence for the 1745 design.

INTRODUCTION

Allerton lies close to the Great North Road (A1) 7 miles north of Wetherby and midway between York and Harrogate. The village stands in a district of gently rolling hills on the western flank of the Vale of York. The underlying strata is Triassic sandstones and the surface soils are poorly drained, suitable for mixed farming. The land in the vicinity of Allerton is covered by a heavy mantle of glacial material and from this are derived the building stones of the medieval church, of the farm buildings in Allerton and the houses in Hopperton, using boulder pebbles and poor quality sandstones.

The village of Allerton lay in the medieval territory of Burghshire, centred upon Aldborough and comprising of lands between the Nidd and the Ure. This area was also within the hundred of Claro which met at a natural hill to the north of Allerton parish. The four townships of Allerton, Clareton, Hopperton and Thornborough regarded Allerton as their parish church during the medieval period.¹ The lost Domesday vill of Cadreton was also in this area and in some surveys Flaxby is linked with Allerton in the same lordship.² None of these settlements grew to any great size; Thornborough is now represented by a single farm and Allerton has dwindled to a few houses outside the limits of the extensive park created in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This park was the work of the Mauleverers and Arundells, and the alteration of the church was made to give a Georgian interpretation of a Norman building which would fit into this contrived landscape. The church on its low hill to the east of the park was balanced by the classical temple on its western border, and the lake and plantations fostered the illusion of a tamed environment.

HISTORY

The Mauleverer Family (1100–1721)

Allerton was held as a sub-tenancy of the Brus fee shortly after the Domesday Survey, and the family of Mauleverer emerge in the early 12th century associated with the lands at Allerton and its nearby townships of Hopperton and Clareton.³ The family name is attached to Allerton as early as 1250 to distinguish it mainly from Northallerton, but also from Allerton Bywater and Chapel and Moor Allerton in Leeds.⁴ The senior branch occupied the estate at Allerton for six centuries, while the main junior branch was at Beamsley in the lordship of Skipton until the early fifteenth century.⁵ Other branches of the family lived at Potternewton and Allerton in Leeds, later moving to Woodsome in Thorner and

¹ in 1378. British Library. Add. MS. 6164, f. 387.

² in 1316. *Nomina Villarum*, Surtees Soc., 49 (1866), 350, held with Little Ouseburn.

³ The manor was in the King's hands in 1086 (Domesday Book: *V.C.H. Yorks.*, II, 207), but passed to Robert de Brus in about 1106 (W. Farrer, *E.Y.C.*, II, 11, 16–17).

⁴ A. H. Smith, *The Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, pt. V (E.P.N.S., XXXIV, 1961), 12–13.

⁵ For a discussion of the family before 1250: Farrer, *E.Y.C.*, II 75–7; C. T. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Families* (Y.A.S. Rec. Ser., CXXXV, 1973), 58–9.

Arncliffe near Thirsk, at Letwell near Doncaster and at Settrington in east Yorkshire. The family at Allerton occupied a middle position in the ranks of the gentry, twice supplying knights of the shire and often serving on county committees of enquiry and assessment;⁶ they normally formed marriage alliances with neighbouring gentry families, seldom marrying into the nobility or acting on royal business. The head of the family was frequently knighted and after 1640 was a baronet.⁷

There is no single period when the family was particularly successful. Their rise was steady and unspectacular. The members of the family represented on tombs in the church are probably John (I), died c. 1285 and Sir John (II), died c. 1349, both with wooden effigies; Sir John (IV), died 1400, and his wife Eleanour commemorated by a brass figure plate; and Sir John (VII), died 1475, and his wife Alyson with alabaster effigies. Heraldic glass, formerly in the windows, commemorated fifteenth-century members of the family.⁸ The evidence from the house and private chapel is of considerable expenditure in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁹ For a ten-year period (1552–1562) the house passed by marriage to Robert Lord Ogle, but his widow Jane married her second cousin Richard Mauleverer. This Sir Richard (II) was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1588 and was prominent in local politics. The family continued to add to its lands around Allerton and in 1713 at the death of the last male heir (Sir Richard V) a 4,000-acre estate passed through his mother on her death to the surviving son of her second marriage, Richard Arundell.

The Arundell family (1721–1769)

Richard was a prominent politician at the court of George II, being appointed to various offices of state.¹⁰ As Surveyor of the King's Works he was responsible for various works at Whitehall and was in touch with leading London architects. He authorised some reconstruction work at Allerton mansion, enlarged the park, added a classical temple and virtually rebuilt the church of St. Martin.¹¹

Later History (1769–present)

The new church received few alterations; this was largely because the lords of the manor resident at the mansion took little interest in the church. After the death of Lady Frances Arundell in 1769, the estate passed through a number of owners. It was first inherited by the second Viscount Galway who took the name of Arundell but normally resided at Serlby, Notts.; it was then sold by the fourth viscount in 1784 to the Duke of York, who seldom resided here, and sold again in 1789 to Thomas Thornton of Cattal, who renamed the mansion Thornville Royal. It was finally sold in 1805 to Lord Stourton, of a prominent Roman Catholic family, who renamed the mansion Stourton Towers.¹² Although the

⁶ A. Gooder, *The Parliamentary Representation of the County of York, 1258–1832* Vol. 1 (Y.A.S. Rec. Ser., XCI, 1935), 77–79, 178–9.

⁷ The later pedigree is given in the heralds' visitations. The fullest is that of Glover in 1584: J. Foster, *The Visitation of Yorkshire in 1584/5* (1875), 64–68. Later pedigrees need to be corrected in two details. John VI who marries Isabell (Markenfield) is the son of Sir Alnath II; and Sir John VII who marries Alicia (Bankes) is the first son of John VI, and Alnath III is a younger son. The other relevant pedigrees are *Visitations of the North*, Surtees Soc., 144 (1930), 71–2; *Tonge's Visitation*, Surtees Soc., 41 (1862), 54; *Visitation of Yorkshire*, ed. C. B. Norcliffe (Harleian Soc., XVI (1881), 200–1. The later descent is in Burke, *Complete Baronetage*, II, 117–8; see also R. Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodensis* (1715), 191.

⁸ Roger Dodsworth, *Yorkshire Church Notes, 1619–1631* (ed. J. W. Clay, Y.A.S. Rec. Ser., XXXIV, 1904), 102–3.

⁹ The evidence of heraldry is recorded by Glover (as note 7) and the appearance of the house is depicted on the 1734 estate map: Leeds City Archives, Sheepscar Library; Allerton Park MS. 1.

¹⁰ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, II, 142; R. Sedgwick, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1715–1754*, I (1970), 421.

¹¹ E. Hargrove, *History of Knaresborough* (4th ed., 1789), 286–7, giving the date 1745. Arundell retired to Allerton in 1750, a new minister, Robert Young, was appointed in that same year, 1750 and the glass in the south transept bears the date 1756.

¹² J. Bigland, *Yorkshire* (1812), 661–2; J. J. Sheahan, *History and Topography of the Wapentake of Claro* (Beverley, 1871), 272; H. Speight, *Nidderdale* (1906 ed.), 141–150; N. Pevsner, *Yorkshire, The West Riding* (1959), 78 and 615 (in rev. ed., 1967).

Duke of York is said to have spent extensively on the mansion, the present house is predominantly a neo-Gothic creation of the mid-nineteenth century. The Stourtons also enlarged the private chapel attached to the house and it was here that they worshipped. This lack of interest in St. Martin's church has left the interior of the building unchanged for more than two centuries. The house, now known as Allerton Park, has passed from private hands and is held by a religious trust.

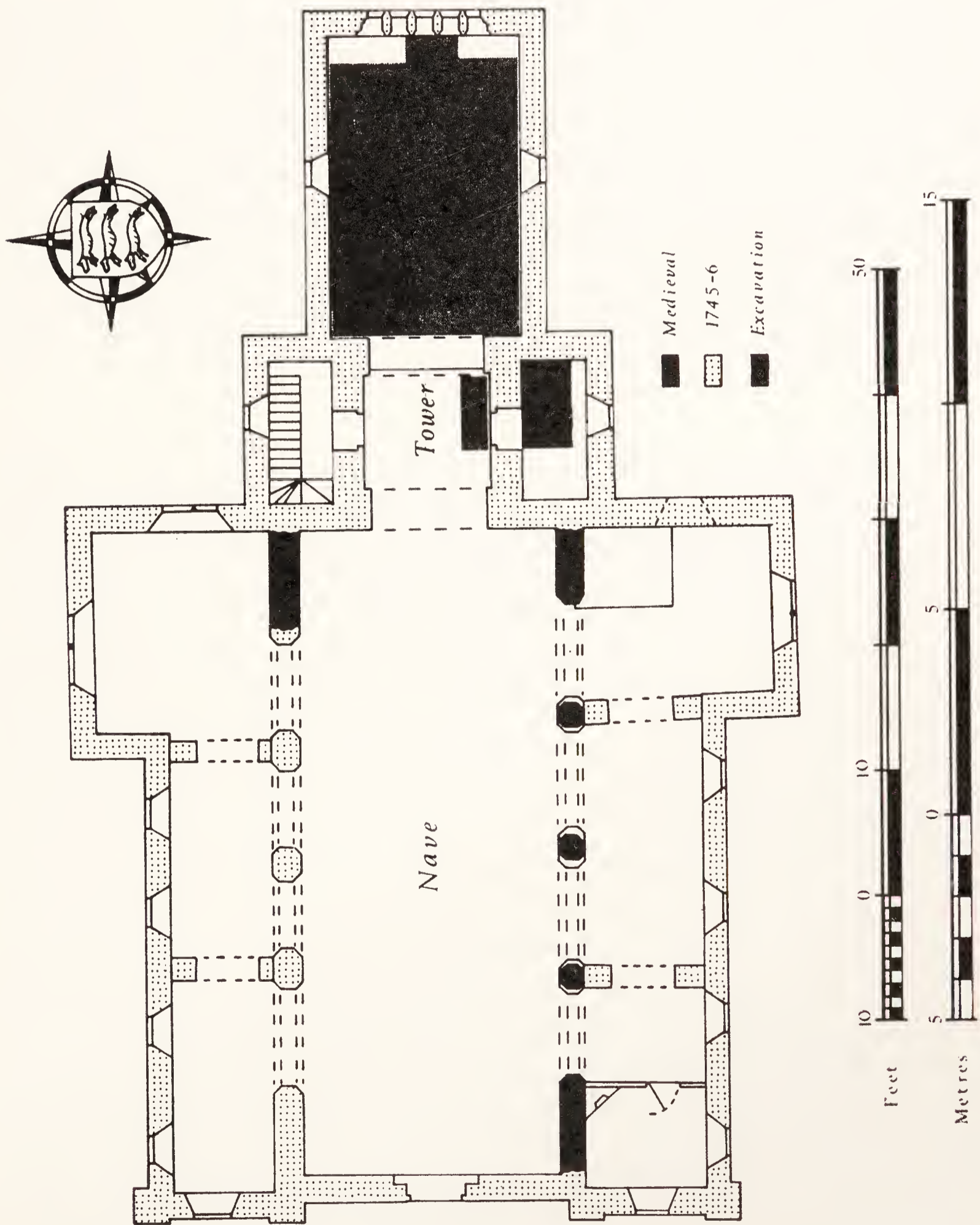


FIG. 1. Allerton Mauleverer Church: Plan.

THE PRIORY

The establishment of a small Benedictine monastery may be attributed to Robert Mauleveier in about 1100–1105. The priory was placed initially under the care of Holy Trinity, York, but was soon (1109–1114) transferred to its mother house, Marmoutier near Tours, whose abbot was responsible for appointing the priors.¹³ This house was regarded as an alien priory in 1414 and its revenues were diverted to secular purposes¹⁴ before being granted to the newly-founded King's College, Cambridge in 1441.¹⁵ The college held the priory lands for 82 years from 1462 until 1544, when they sold it to the Mauleverers who had leased the 'manor of the priory' since its Dissolution.¹⁶

The priory possessions remained few in number and small in extent, being confined to the townships within Allerton and to the adjoining parish of Marton with Grafton. The earliest gifts were never increased and the religious house probably never supported more than three monks, one of whom was the prior. In August 1378 this house was described as 'one decayed hall with chambers attached and with other offices of the houses which is worth nothing . . .'. This hall was apparently separate from the church of St. Martin, which predated the priory's foundation. The priory possessed the church and its tithes; it had the obligation to repair the chancel and to provide for the celebration of the divine offices in the church.¹⁷ This celebration was performed directly because there is no record of a vicarage being instituted either by the priory or later by the college.¹⁸ In the seventeenth century it was a perpetual curacy, spiritually in the care of the rector of Goldsborough but effectively in the gift of the Mauleverers and their successors.¹⁹

THE CHURCH

The Medieval structure

There is little evidence for the early history and appearance of the medieval church.²⁰ Apart from the foundation of a chantry of St. Mary the Virgin by John Mauleverer (II) in 1315,²¹ there is no direct material until the registers start in 1557.²² No surviving visitation records mention the church fabric, and the only antiquary to describe the old church is Roger Dodsworth on his visit in 1620 in search of heraldic evidence.²³ From the position of

¹³ *V.C.H. Yorks.*, III (1913), 387. The foundation deed and the confirmation by Henry II are given in Farrer, *E.Y.C.*, II, nos. 729–730. The gift to Marmoutier and the dedication to St. Martin may have been influenced by the generosity of Robert de Brus to that abbey.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pat. R.*, Henry V, I (1413–1416), 165; *Cal. Pat. R.*, Henry VI, III (1436–1441), 404.

¹⁵ *Cal. Pat. R.*, Henry VI, III (1436–1441), 557; *Cal. Pat. R.*, Henry VI, (1452–1461), 466; *Cal. Pat. R.*, Edward IV, I (1461–1467), 74; King's College, Cambridge, muniments: Ledger Book, I (1451–1558), 47a.

¹⁶ King's College, Cambridge: Ledger Book, I, 325a–326a. The deeds of the priory were included in the sale to Thomas Mauleverer. They were seen by Glover in 1584.

¹⁷ British Library, Add. MS. 6164, fol. 387, quoted extensively in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, III, 387.

¹⁸ In a visitation of 1428 a distinction was made between the parochial chaplain and the chantry chaplain who was presented by the Mauleverers: A. H. Thompson (ed.), *Diocesan and Provincial Visitation in the 15th century* in Surtees Soc., 127 (1916), 203, 211. A similar distinction is present in 1463: *Y.A.J.*, 30 (1931), 130–1.

¹⁹ The transfer of Flaxby township to Goldsborough parish probably occurred in the seventeenth century. It was in Goldsborough parish in 1712 (Leeds City Archives: RD/RU, p. 170). Clareton was certainly in Allerton parish at 1789 (Chester R.O., E.D.V. 7/2/379) and at 1804 (*idem.*, EDV 7/3/8).

Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the incumbent of Allerton usually describes himself as 'curate' or 'minister': Parish Registers, Bishop's Returns, Visitations; also in contribution of 1639: *Lancs. and Ches. Rec. Soc.*, 12 (1885), 127. Clergy List of 1691: *Chetham Soc.*, 73 (1915), 35 only gives the parish clerk, John Lumley.

²⁰ The church, already in existence as a chapel, was to become a 'mother church' (*mater ecclesia*) in the foundation gift to Marmoutier (1109–14). It is regarded as a parish church in 1291 (*Taxatio Papae Nicholae* (Record Commission, 1802), 307, 328) and in 1428 (*Feudal Aids*, VI (1920), 342). J. Ecton, *Thesaurus* (1763 edn.), 588, gives the proprietor and patron as the Dean and Chapter of York, but other editions give the lords of the manor. See also G. Lawton, *Collections . . . York and Ripon* (1842), 552.

²¹ For the foundation of the chantry: P.R.O. Inq. ad quod damnum. 8 Edw. II, no. 171; *Cal. Pat. R.*, Edward II, (1313–1317), 294; see also *Chantry Certificates*, Surtees Soc., 92 (1893), II, 270, 395.

²² F. W. Slingsby, *Registers of Allerton Mauleverer* (Yorks. Par. Reg. Soc., 31, 1908).

²³ as note 8. Another 'lost' tomb is that of Catherine (Stapleton) and John Hopton, 1703. The heraldic panel of this tomb was placed against the alabaster tomb of the late fifteenth century; this deceived Hargrove and later writers into an erroneous identification.

the windows and tombs, one can reconstruct a chancel ('high quyer'), a north transept ('north quyer') and possibly an aisle with heraldic glass in the west window. The Mauleverer tombs were placed in the north transept and in the chancel. The windows with kneeling donors in heraldic cloaks or tabards were of three fifteenth-century Mauleverers, and the other heraldic coats were of similar date. This glass has now disappeared, but the monuments described by Dodsworth have survived except for that of William Lussher of 1591 and his wife Anne (Mauleverer) of which a fragment of carving remains.

A drawing of 1734 shows the church with a chancel, aisleless nave, large south porch, west tower and spire.²⁴ The eighteenth-century glass of the east window in the present church also shows a medieval church: it is carried by the right-hand figure ('Religion') and possesses a tower and spire similar to the drawing and roughly similar to that at Kirk Deighton; this would suggest that a specific building is portrayed and not merely a conventional image. The former presence of a tower is further indicated by the three bells which predate the present church. Two of them are inscribed and dated 1627 and 1666, the later bell carrying the marks of James Shaw, bellfounder of Toft Green, York.²⁵

The final piece of evidence comes from the church fabric. The wall and arches of the south arcade are original work of the fourteenth century, and it is likely that part of the north arcade at its east end is medieval. There is evidence that stones from the medieval church were re-used in the outer walls and two carved stones are visible in the north chancel wall near its east end. It is possible that the irregular placing of the transepts and the different widths of the aisles reflects the outline of the medieval church (SE 415579).

The New Church (1745-6)

Richard Arundell as lord of the manor and patron of the living was the prime mover in the rebuilding of the church. He had already donated the church plate²⁶ but evidently wished for a new church of a unified design reclothing the existing fabric wherever possible. It is probable that the rebuilding took place in 1745-6, but possibly as late as 1756 since the new glass bears this later date. Some surviving plans and architectural drawings enable the process of rebuilding to be followed.²⁷ Particularly helpful is the plan and elevation, no. 7 (Fig. 6). This shows the building as it was eventually erected apart from major changes to the north arcade and the west facade. The long chancel with its four-light east window and single-light side windows is shown;²⁸ the axial tower with flanking chambers and then the two transepts follow the design fairly closely. In proposing this design the governing factor appears to be the retention of the existing arcades, the substitution of a new west front for the western tower and the replacement of a tower and chancel centrally aligned upon the new east-west axis. The transepts, however, are not symmetrical and may owe their dimensions to the position of earlier structures, especially to the need to leave undisturbed

²⁴ Estate Map of 1734, as note 9. The view is from the South.

²⁵ J. E. Poppleton, *The Church Bells of Yorkshire*, Y.A.J., 17 (1903), 212.

²⁶ T. M. Fallow, *Yorkshire Church Plate*, II (1915), 15-16. London marks of 1728 and 1733.

²⁷ Leeds City Archives, Sheepscar Library: Acc. 1493, drawings nos. 1-7. No. 3 is entitled *The Roof of Allerton Church* and No. 8 is the *Cold Larder at Allerton 1757* in similar handwriting. The church plans are undated and without any architect's name. The watermarks of the paper are not closely datable. Dr. H. M. Colvin had kindly commented 'The design of the church is so odd that one certainly could not attribute it to either James Paine or John Vardy without more definite evidence. Unfortunately, the drawings do not help very much, as they are in a formal style of Georgian architectural draughtsmanship which is virtually anonymous. They are not in the characteristic hand of either Paine or Vardy' (in lit., July 1976). The place of Richard Arundell within the Palladian movement is indicated by his friendship with Lord Burlington, his patronage of Colen Campbell, his choice of John Vardy as the architect for the proposed new mansion at Allerton and his close friendship with his half-brother, the 9th Earl of Pembroke. H. E. Stutchbury, *The architecture of Colen E. Campbell* (Manchester, 1967), 42-44; Vardy designs: V. & A. Nat. Art Lib., Q 1a, 3312, 3313.

²⁸ The design of the east window seems to be late sixteenth century, but there is no evidence of re-use in the glazing frame or bars. Pevsner, as note 12, 78 considered it to be 'Perpendicular'.

the Mauleverer burials in the north chapel.²⁹ The south arcade was fourteenth century with octagonal columns; the north arcade of four bays was probably early thirteenth century with slender columns of quatrefoil cluster. It was intended to retain both these arcades and the adjacent walling to east and west, but to add a symmetrical west front in place of the west tower (plan no. 7). The aisles are of varying width and the variation still evident today suggests that the aisle outer walls are built upon old foundations. At a later stage in the design the medieval north arcade was removed, probably for reasons of stability, and rebuilt with octagonal columns to match the earlier south arcade.

The west front passed through various designs; the first proposal (no. 7) was for the centre aisle to have a colonnaded portico; a second scheme (no. 3) was for an ornate west window with baroque rose tracery, flanked by semi-circular headed windows at a low level. The final design (no. 1) is a restrained attempt at a neo-Norman style best seen in the west facade and in the tower. Freestone from Knaresborough was used for the west front and the lower courses up to the stringcourse at window sill level; rubble walling using the former church material is employed in the upper walls; brick is liberally used on the interior to supplement the glacial boulder pebble and is hidden beneath the plastered surfaces. The roof design is of 1745 and is based fairly closely upon the drawings (nos. 2, 3, 4). It was intended that the chancel roof should also be similar openwork Gothic design (no. 5), but this was not adopted and the plaster ceiling is flat attached to tie-beams similar to the transept open roof trusses. Many medieval corbels are re-used. The windows are simple single light openings, except for those in the transepts which are perhaps modelled on mid-thirteenth-century designs in the old church; their poor weathering has misled later writers.³⁰ The lateral arches in the aisles were probably added to contain the thrust of the nave roof when a higher pitch was adopted (no. 6; also 2, 4); these are brick built throughout, hidden by heavy white plaster. The decorative iron gates leading into the transept chapels and the chancel are also secondary in the main design.

The fittings are original, with box pews at the eastern end and open benches towards the west end of the nave. The font of classical design is also of mid-eighteenth-century date,³¹ but the pulpit incorporates seventeenth-century panels in the mid-eighteenth-century classical framing. The glass in the east window and the heraldic quatrefoils in the transepts are the work of William Peckitt, glass painter of York. The glass in the east window has been damaged but formerly showed Mount Sinai and Mount Calvary in the upper lights and Hope, Faith, Charity and Religion in the lower lights together with the West and East 'Prospects' of the new church.³² The arms in the north transept are those of Mauleverer, where their burial place had been; the arms of Arundell impaling Manners are in the glass of the south transept, their intended resting place. That in the north transept is inscribed *W Peckitt pinxt*; that in the south has the motto *Noli praeda* 1756.

Three later features are the Thornton tomb of 1805 in the south transept, the vestry of 1813 formed by walling off the west end of the south aisle, and the mid-Victorian coloured glass in the east window of the north transept, opening out a blank window.³³ The churchyard west wall is of 1745; the earliest tombs in the churchyard are of 1775-9. To the south-east of the Anglican churchyard is a Roman Catholic burial ground opened for the servants of the Stourtons in the mid-nineteenth century.

²⁹ Sir Richard Malleverer was buried in the north-east corner of the north chapel in 1603: *Registers*, as note 22, 20. Three members of the family were also buried in the chapel between 1594 and 1600.

³⁰ Sheahan, as note 12, 273; Pevsner, *op. cit.*, 78.

³¹ There was formerly a font lid inscribed T.H. 1663 *m.*; this might suggest a Restoration period font as at Rothwell and Wakefield. Thomas Hutton was a churchwarden in 1663 when "The church is out of repair and wanteth many utensils" (Leeds City Archives: RD/C 1).

³² Hargrove, as note 11, 287; and loose papers in Allerton church records, now at Leeds City Archives.

³³ A Visitation of 1813 (Leeds City Archives: RD/CD 15) mentions the need for a faculty to be obtained for making this vestry, and also describes the dissatisfaction of the parishioners at "a tombstone and a marble tablet which have been placed in the church by a late owner of the estate which inscriptions are not appropriate to their situation". The tablet on the Thornton tomb shows signs of refixing, and this may be a replacement inscription.

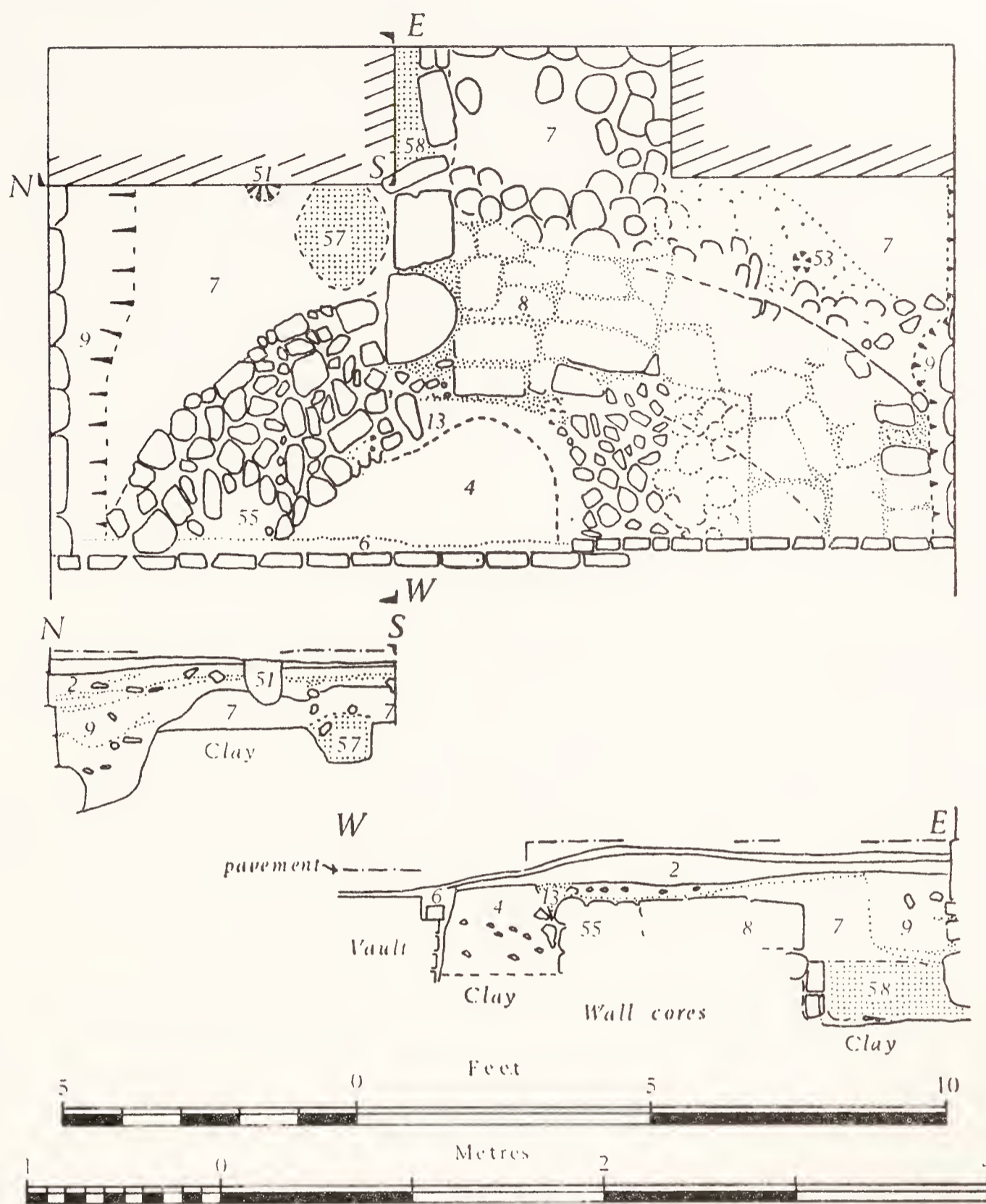


FIG. 2. Allerton Mauleverer Church: Chancel, plan and section of excavation.

THE EXCAVATION

The persistent dampness in the church had been the subject of remedial action in 1813 and in 1906–7.³⁴ When the Redundant Churches Fund took the church into their guardianship in 1973, they hoped to eradicate the problem by relaying the floors in the chancel and south chamber upon a damp-proof membrane. At the request of the officers of the Fund and with the full co-operation of the architect, Mr. Peter Hill, a small excavation was made possible in these areas to ascertain the plan of the medieval church. The excavation was conducted in four weeks (Jan.–Feb. 1976) by members of Leeds University Union Archaeological Society led by Bob Croft and by members of York Educational Settlement evening class led by Richard Morris under the overall direction of the author.

In two areas the excavation was unsuccessful. The limited excavation beneath the tower revealed only a thin medium brown soil layer above the clay, as in the chancel (layer 4). In

³⁴ The Visitation of 1804 states that “in winter the church is damp and cold” (Chester R.O., E D V 7/3/8, p. 1 and p. 9). The Visitation of 1813 refers to the need “to eradicate dampness: cut a good drain entirely round the church”. The same problem was commented upon by the architects: Report from James Knight of Rotherham, 1904; Report from Temple Moore of London, 1908. The churchwardens’ accounts of 1906–7 include payment for 11 days’ dry area trenching. (Allerton Church records, now at Leeds City Archives.)

the south chamber alongside the tower it was hoped to find evidence of the south wall of the chancel and to obtain information about the character, and possibly the date, of the east wall of the transept. When the south chamber was planned in 1745 this was to be the position of the stairs to the tower, but when the church was completed the stairs were placed on the north and a vestry occupied the south chamber. After 1813 this room was a coal store and then in 1918 was made into a boiler house with the boiler sunk below pavement level.³⁵ The floor of the boiler pit was placed directly upon natural clay; the north wall of the chamber also rested upon clay at a depth of 24 ins. below the pavement without any foundation trench. Outside the limits of the pit there was no trace of any early south wall of the chancel nor any indication of an early phase in the transept east wall.

The excavation within the chancel was severely restricted. When the stone-flagged chancel pavement was removed, there was revealed a brick-built vault of four compartments occupying the entire width of the chancel and a greater part of its length (15½ ft east-west by 16½ ft). The burials had been removed in 1862 though the remains of two wooden coffins with their binding strips and gilt coffin plates (Fig. 5) remained. Both coffins were of similar pattern. The Faculty³⁶ issued for the removal of human remains makes it clear that the burials were those of Charles, 17th Lord Stourton (1816), Constantia, his daughter (1826) and the infant grand-daughters Lucy Juliana Mary (1821) and Frances Mary (1824). The wooden coffins were those of the two adults and presumably enclosed leaden caskets. All were transferred to the private chapel at Allerton Park.

The vault had been placed close to the south, west and north walls and there was no soil undisturbed by the vault construction. This left available for examination only the easternmost 8½ ft and in this area two main medieval structural phases were evident (Fig. 2). The natural soil was a heavy red clay upon which a lighter brown but still clayish soil had accumulated. Into this had been set an unmortared wall foundation (55) 35 ins. wide formed of surface pebbles from the boulder clay though one worked stone, part of a column shaft, was included. This foundation was of apsidal form: it was cut on the south side by the chancel wall and on the north by the trench for the later vault (6). Its central portion was cut by an inserted foundation of well-mortared fawn magnesian limestone in roughly squared blocks (8). Only a few blocks remained *in situ* but the position of others could be seen from the impressions they had left in the mortar. Where this wall was placed directly upon the earlier apse there was no need for a foundation, but on the south there was a foundation of heavy cobbles in red-brown soil (14) on the east and similar cobbles in a foundation trench (13) of light brown soil on the west. This trench (13) did not follow the curve of the apse but ran on a tighter curve appearing to relate to the later foundation beneath (8). The interior of the apse was filled with dark brown soil (4), clayish at its lower level and becoming sandy with charcoal flecks and more compact close to the mortar spread (3) which represented the working surface for the chancel rebuilding. Outside the apse walls there was a dark brown soil layer (7), gradually becoming lighter in colour and sandier in texture close to the large pebble foundation (14). This gave the appearance of a gradual accumulation of churchyard soil and in it were found ten sherds of thirteenth-fourteenth-century pottery from at least three different vessels, a bronze strap-end, three nails, some fragments of clear window glass and of lead window comes. A little human bone occurred at this level, but there were also two compact deposits of bone (57, 59) which were insertions probably redeposited when earlier burials were disturbed by cutting the foundations of the 1745 church. Only one burial (58) of a mature adult was found *in situ*: the grave was indicated by a surround of roughly rectangular stones except where it was cut through on the east by the chancel wall.

³⁵ Information in churchwardens' accounts.

³⁶ Leeds City Archives: RD/AF2/3/8.

According to J. and J. Burke *Peerage* (1933 ed., p. 1739) there was another grand-daughter named Lucy, 10th daughter of the 19th Lord Stourton, b. 27 June 1822, d. 1823.

The building operation of the 1745 church was obvious: a construction trench (9) with a bowl-like profile was visible on the north and east, but there was a straight-sided cut on the south. The wall had two courses of faced rubble set on large boulders before the squared sandstone was used. The interior layers (3, 2) were compact with light brown soil, mortar and brick fragments; they were pierced by two scaffold pole holes (51, 53). The uppermost layer (1) of light brown sandy soil was the bedding for the stone flagged pavement. The insertion of the vault (5, 6) was also easily identifiable. It was placed in a vertical sided trench cut right up against the side walls. In the limited space available for excavation at the west wall layer 6 was traced right down to the base of the west wall at 24 ins. below pavement level. The vault of four compartments had solid arched roofs except for the western 9 ft which was bridged by four arches. It was possible to deduce the subsequent opening of the vault by observing the differences in the mortar used in the arch repairs and the varieties of slate used for levelling up the pavement. The vault has now been sealed by a concrete membrane.

THE FINDS

POTTERY (FIG. 3)

Examples of three fabrics were present:

1. Jug, hard grey fabric, grey interior, prominent rilling, external pinky-red surface, splashed medium green glaze. Layer 7
 2. Jug rim, pinky-cream fabric, prominent white angular grits, rounded black and red grits, mica flecks; uneven cream surfaces, fire blackened, unglazed.³⁸ Layer 4
- Also in same fabric: base fragments 5 in. diam. sherds in layers 2, 7 and 9.
Sherd of fine red fabric, traces of weathered green glaze. Layer 7

CLAY TOBACCO-PIPE

Hard greyish white stem fragment, bore diameter 7/64 in.

Layer 1: in construction material of 1745.

WINDOW GLASS

Fragments of clear glass, good quality, 1/32 in. thick.

From medieval church: layers 7, 2 and 3.

One fragment, heavily corroded, 1/8 in. thick.

From present church: layer 2.

IRON (FIG. 3, No. 4)

Five nails in layers 4, 7 and 9. A typical example from layer 7 is illustrated.

LEAD

Fragment of window came from layer 7; a number of molten fragments in layer 3, probably waste from leading windows or roofs.

BRONZE (FIG. 3, No. 5)

5. Strap-end, 2¼ in. long with broken loop for buckle; strap plates held by four rivets, edge decorated with chevron ornament.³⁹ Layer 7

BRONZE COFFIN FURNITURE (Plate 2)

Both coffins were similar, made of oak, covered with a fine red leather and bound with a continuous line of bronze studs along each outer edge and across the centre of the lid and long sides. At each corner there was a small triangular bronze plate. On each long side there were two plates with handles; on each lid there were two plates decorated with cherubs.⁴⁰ Both the coffins had been broken open and the pieces lay floating in the waterlogged vaults.

³⁸ The general form of rim is present at Stockton, no. 14 and Knaresborough, no. 9. For all the pottery from Allerton a date range of thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century is likely. Stockton, *Y.A.J.*, 41 (1956), 701-8, esp. Fig. 6; Knaresborough, *ibid.*, 591-607, esp. Fig. 6.

³⁹ Whittington Court Villa: *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.*, 71 (1952), 81, fig. 14, no. 2. A date in the thirteenth-fourteenth century is likely.

⁴⁰ Mr. C. Blair, Keeper, Dept. of Metalwork, Victoria and Albert Museum, comments that this pattern of coffin plate occurs in an anonymous catalogue of 1826 (Dept. of Prints and Drawings: No. E 3119-1910). This size (9½ in. by 7 in.) was available "gilt lackered" at 28s. per Dozen Pair and with "Large Wrot Gripe Handles" at 44s. per dozen Pair. This design had a long life and was produced by a number of makers though the centre of the trade was probably in Birmingham. For a similar coffin plate, c. 1775-90, from St. Bride's church, Fleet Street, London: Rupert Gentle and Rachel Field, *English Domestic Brass* (1975), Fig. 356A. A coffin plate of 1799 with cherubs of a different type is illustrated from Alton Barnes, Wilts: *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, 68 (1973), 75-6, Fig. 2, Pl. V. The coffin plates at Allerton Mauleverer are to be dated to 1816 and 1826, on the evidence of the Faculty authorising the transfer of human remains.

WORKED STONE (FIG. 3)

Portion of column, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter, height 5 in., diagonal tooling on base, re-used in apse foundation (55). Fine-grained white magnesian limestone.

3. Triangular piece of slate, pierced with rectangular nail holes, and with other indentations. Layer 11: probably an apprentices' trial piece from repair on edges of chancel roof.

HUMAN BONE

Report by Dr. K. Manchester, M.B., B.S., B.Sc.

At least ten individuals were represented in the human skeletal remains. The disturbed nature of the burials prevents an accurate estimate of numbers. The bones are fragmentary but it has been determined with probability that 5 burials are male; possibly 2 females are represented but the evidence for this is uncertain. Four are in the age bracket 25-35 years; two are probably over the age of 35 years, two are 'adult' and two are children. One adult male has a height of 170.8 cm. Stature estimation in the remainder is not possible.

Osteitis of the femur and Paget's Disease of the skull is noted in one adult male. Dental caries is present in two molars of one adult male, but only twelve teeth are present in the whole series owing to postmortem disturbance. Osteo-arthritis of the lumbar spine is present in one individual. No other pathological feature is noted. There is no indication of cause of death in any individual. A fuller report is placed with the finds in the Yorkshire Museum.

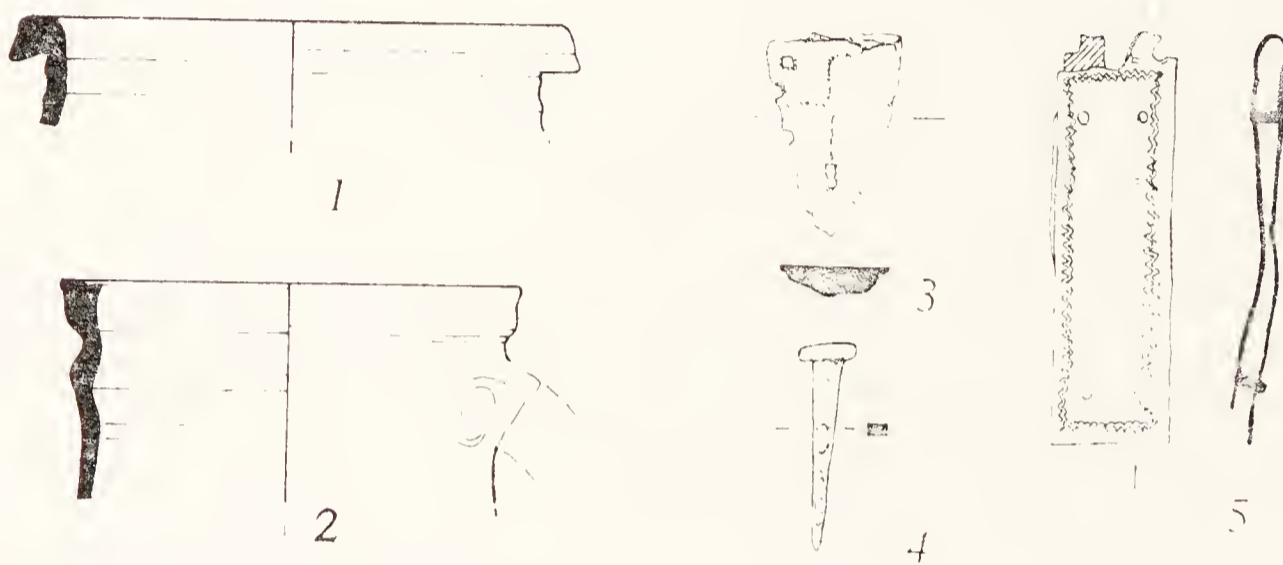


FIG. 3. Allerton Mauleverer Church: Finds: Medieval pottery (1, 2), Slate trial piece (3), iron nail (4), bronze strap buckle-plate (5). Scale 1:4.



FIG. 4. Allerton Mauleverer Church: Chancel interior, looking east. (Photograph D. Phillips)



FIG. 5. Allerton Mauleverer Church: Coffin Plate (of 1816 or 1826).

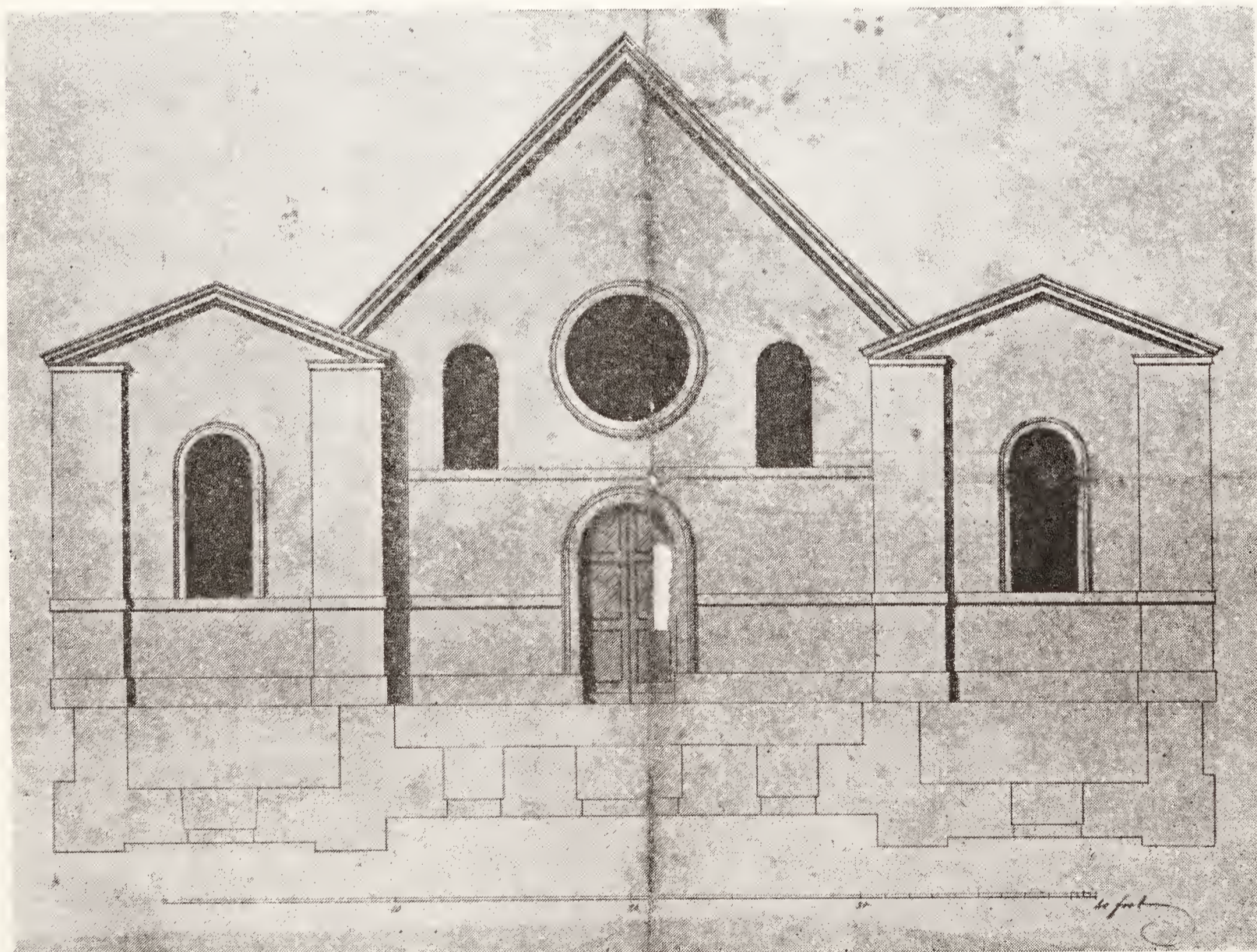


FIG. 6. Allerton Mauleverer Church: Plan and elevation, ca. 1745.
Leeds City Archives: Acc. 1493.

CONCLUSION

Two periods of medieval construction were indicated by the wall footings. The first is the unbuttressed apsidal foundation which is likely to be twelfth-century in date. The character of the footings and the tooling of the incorporated piece of carved column support such a date. From the small amount of visible foundation it is impossible to tell whether the apse ran unbroken into a chancel, as at Bengeo, Herts., or whether it joined a wider chancel as part of a three cell building, as at Birkin, Pontefract Castle and Steetley, Derbys. The latter plan is more likely and this was also adopted by some small Benedictine alien houses, as at Isleham, Cambs. Assuming that the present west tower arch marks the medieval division between nave and chancel, this church at Allerton Mauleverer is similar in proportion to Birkin and may also be of similar date. Earlier apses are known on Benedictine priories as at Lastingham (c. 1078) and Leonard Stanley, Gloucs., where a former parochial chapel was incorporated in the early twelfth-century priory.³⁷ The piece of carved column could have been taken from an earlier building or, more probably, be a fragment broken during construction work.

The second wall foundation is more problematical. It seems to represent an east end of rectangular form, but the absence of a mortared base layer on the north side is puzzling, unless the north-east angle had an insubstantial foundation totally removed in the 1745 rebuilding. The footing is too substantial to be an altar base. It is difficult to see the foundation as a repair only at the south-east angle of the church or as a new east end with an extension (?chantry) at the north-east angle. The transition from an apsidal end to a rectangular east end cannot be closely dated; the date for this replacement may be as soon as the straight end became fashionable in the thirteenth century but is more likely to be expected in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and the pottery evidence would indicate that the work was in progress during the fourteenth century. If the east window is a survival from the medieval church, this would argue for a straight east wall of similar width to the present chancel. However Dodsworth does not mention any heraldic glass in the east window and it has already been suggested that the east window may be of 1745. The evidence for a rectangular east end is not entirely convincing, but remains the most likely explanation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank the officers of the Redundant Churches Fund, especially Mr. J. H. Bowles, for the invitation to excavate at Allerton Mauleverer church, and the architect, Mr. Peter Hill, and the builder, Mr. J. Bulmer, for their co-operation and interest. The work of excavation was undertaken by the Leeds University Union Archaeological Society, especially R. A. Croft and B. Bennison, and by a York Settlement extra-mural class, led by R. K. Morris. I should also like to thank Dr. D. Bartley for his report on the wood, Mr. J. W. B. Black for treatment of the finds, Mr. C. Blair for commenting upon the coffin plates, Mr. W. J. Connor for assistance at Leeds City Archives, Dr. K. Manchester for his report on the human bone and Mr. D. Phillips for photography.

³⁷ For the range of apsidal ended plans, see A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture*, II (1934), 101-5 and F. H. Fairweather, *Aisleless Apsidal Churches of Great Britain* (Colchester, 1933), 49-51. For Lastingham, see *V.C.H. Yorks., North Riding*, I (1914), 526-7. At both Felixkirk and Kirkburn an apse was replaced by a straight end, probably in the fourteenth century.

OBITUARY

SIR CHARLES TRAVIS CLAY

Charles Travis Clay was born in 1885, the younger son of John William Clay of Rastrick House, Yorkshire. His father, a historian and genealogist, inspired in his son a life-long love of his native county and an interest in all matters relating to it which remained paramount despite a lifetime spent mainly in London.

Sir Charles was educated at Harrow School and Balliol, and there can be few who go up to Oxford with a mathematical scholarship, change direction and come down with First Class Honours in History. In 1913 he married Violet, daughter of the late Lord Robson. They had three daughters and remained happily united by a similarity of interest until Lady Clay's death in 1972.

Sir Charles served with distinction in the 1914 war, being twice mentioned in dispatches. Four years after returning to civilian life he was appointed Librarian of the House of Lords, which office he held from 1922 to 1956. In his obituary notice in *The Times*, the present Librarian paid tribute to his outstanding work, overshadowing that of all others there between 1826 and 1876. His advice was sought and highly regarded, particularly on matters relating to the peerage, and his gifts of intellectual ability, remarkable memory and intense and active dislike of inaccuracy made him admirably suited for the administrative and scholarly needs of the House. His distinguished career there was rewarded in 1944 with the C.B. and in 1957 with a knighthood.

His experience and scholarship brought recognition from many learned bodies. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Historical Society, and the British Academy, a trustee of The Complete Peerage and greatly enjoyed his membership of the Roxburghe Club. He was an authority on armorial china and on Huguenot silversmiths, the latter interest doubtless inspired by his Huguenot ancestry. These skills were well used as a member of the committee for the review of the export of works of art and the invitation to serve for a second term with that body gave him much pleasure.

Sir Charles Clay became a member of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in 1908. His great interest in the Society was undoubtedly the Record Series and it is noteworthy that his first published work in 1911 and, with the exception of one review, his last in 1973, were for the Series. His father had been Hon. Secretary for 21 years until 1918 and after an interval of ten years Sir Charles in turn took up the post which he enjoyed and filled with distinction until 1953. During this period his work and publications for the Series were of the greatest importance, and indeed it is because of them that the Record Series has the reputation which it now enjoys. His continuation of the series of *Early Yorkshire Charters* begun by William Farrer resulted in an Index of these three volumes and nine further Charter volumes, all published as an Extra Series for the Record Series. It is no exaggeration to say that these works will be found wherever post-Conquest history is studied, not only in relation to Yorkshire and its adjacent or related counties but also for feudal history in Normandy and Brittany. They are models of scholarship and meticulous craftsmanship; an instance of which is the reply from the printer on the question of author's corrections that 'in Sir Charles' case there will be no corrections', or again the editor's concern when the incorrect placing of one comma had escaped his notice in the proof reading of the Percy Fee.

As well as *Early Yorkshire Charters* Sir Charles edited numerous other Record Series volumes, notably five volumes of *Yorkshire Deeds*, *Fasti Parochiales*, *York Minster Fasti* and

lastly in 1973, with Diana Greenway, *Early Yorkshire Families*. To these must be added many articles, both for the Y.A.S. and other learned societies. His last published work, *The Family of Clere* though written somewhat earlier, was presented to him by friends and admirers for his 90th birthday; to this is appended a bibliography of his writings, compiled by himself and so, no doubt, accurate and comprehensive.

His work did not pass unnoticed by his native county and in 1943 he received an Hon. Doctorate of Leeds University, while from 1953 to 1956 he was President of the Society which he had served with interest and affection for so long. To celebrate 60 years of membership an evening meeting at Claremont was held in his honour and one of the rooms designated the Sir Charles Clay room.

Matters of fact and further details of Sir Charles Clay's life can be found from written sources but it remains to say something of the man himself. The writer was privileged to be called a friend for some 40 years and there are many memories of expeditions in Yorkshire, often accompanied by Lady Clay, when Charles would reveal his detailed and particular knowledge of the county, and how rarely it was that one could win a trick by offering some snippet of information new to him; and all this with the greatest modesty. He was indeed the most charming and unassuming of men, and one of quiet wit and humour who greatly enjoyed the quirks of history. It pleased him to say when talking of the merits or otherwise of the kings of England that John could not be other than bad, as he had contrived to date his regal years from a moveable feast. Charles's other interests encompassed pleasure in watching cricket at Lords or Pot Black on the television, an unexpected ability to perform card tricks, and more particularly his enjoyment in solving those esoteric literary puzzles which drew on his unparalleled knowledge of English literature.

Lastly we are reminded of his kindness and the advice and encouragement he patiently offered to any aspiring scholar who sought his help.

Professor C. N. L. Brooke has permitted the last words of his fine Introduction to *The Family of Clere* to be quoted:

'It is always difficult to communicate even a small part of the quality of a man for whom one feels the respect and affection I have long had for Charles Clay. Of the E.Y.C. one must say at the end of the day that it is, not always, but nearly always, quite simply, right; and that is because its editor has spent a lifetime brushing error and falsehood out of its doors. This is done with enthusiasm, as all who know him know well, but it is also done by a man notable for his charm, his warmth and his good nature, and so it is done quietly, firmly, yet charitably.'

There are many who will join with him in such a tribute to Charles Clay, the scholar and the man.

M. P. STANLEY PRICE.

MR. HARTLEY THWAITE, J.P., M.Phil., F.S.A.
A VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY

Mr. Hartley Thwaite died suddenly on 21 February 1978. His funeral was attended by the President, several Vice-Presidents and other officers, members of the Council and ordinary members of the Society, who thus paid tribute to his considerable services to the Y.A.S. over many years. Hartley Thwaite had a distinguished career in banking and therefore brought particularly appropriate experience to the office of Hon. Treasurer, which he held from 1955 to 1959. He later became a Vice-President and to the last remained very active in

the counsels of the Society, which greatly benefited from his shrewd, firm and wholly reliable advice.

But Hartley Thwaite was no mere committee-man. He was an enthusiast for local history and genealogy, with an admirably broad range of interests and sympathies. He did sterling work for the Parish Register section, transcribing the Birstall registers, and for the Record Series, in which he published an edition of wills and other probate documents from Abbotside in Wensleydale; he edited similar records of later date for his mastership thesis at the University of Leeds. Not surprisingly a tour of Abbotside with Hartley Thwaite was rich in detail about people, land and buildings, an experience greatly treasured by myself and others privileged to have enjoyed it. Moreover, at an age when most men rest from their labours, Mr. Thwaite chose to embark on a doctoral thesis, taking for his subject the demographic history of an area of the West Riding during the period of industrialisation; the material produced by his work will, we hope, be completed by other hands and made available to other enquirers, as he would have wished. For Hartley Thwaite was an enthusiast upon whose knowledge others were always welcome to draw.

By his passing the Society has lost a notable member and a loyal guide. In expressing our deep sympathy to his widow, to his son Anthony and to the family, we also record our gratitude for his friendly presence at Y.A.S. meetings and for his signal services to the life and permanent work of the Society.

G. C. F. FORSTER, *President*.

BOOK REVIEWS

P. V. ADDYMAN (Ed.), *The Archaeology of York*, London: Council for British Archaeology for York Archaeological Trust 1976.

3 3/1. *The Legionary Fortress*: J. B. Whitwell, *The Church Street Sewer and an adjacent Building*. 55 pp., 16 pls., 21 figs. £2.60.

14/1. *The Past Environment of York*: P. C. Buckland, *The Environmental Evidence from the Church Street Roman Sewer System*. 44 pp., 4 figs. £2.

17/1. *The Small Finds*: A. MacGregor, *Finds from a Roman Sewer System and an adjacent Building in Church Street*. 30 pp., 1 pl., 15 figs. £1.35.

These relatively expensive fascicules, the first of a new series of publications on the results of the work of the York Archaeological Trust, deal with three different aspects of a single site—the well known and spectacular Roman sewer discovered in 1972 in Church Street, York and the adjacent building which it served.

The ethics of publishing interdependent structural, environmental and small find evidence in three totally separate volumes may be seriously questioned at this stage: such a scheme, wastefully repetitious of background information, threatens to involve even greater inconvenience in subsequent fascicules, when artefacts, such as pottery, vital for dating, will inevitably appear divorced from a full exposition of their related stratigraphic sequences, or particularly when fascicules describing different aspects of the same site are not issued simultaneously. It is perhaps noteworthy that several other British urban archaeology units, originally planning a fascicule system of publication, later abandoned the scheme, when their involvement in the processing of finds in relation to structures, made them uneasy over its very real disadvantages.

In Vol. 3/1, Whitwell describes the structure of the sewer, built mainly of millstone grit blocks and vaulted in parts, with its side passages, evidence of contemporary blocking and diversion of flow, and particularly notable, the presence of a probable sluice-gate. Despite numerous illustrations, it is not always very easy to follow the account of this elaborate structure with the complex enumeration adopted, and the limited range of terms used for the various main- and sub-passages; it might have been preferable to have supplemented the numbers with directional letters and expanded the range of terms for quick and easy reference.

It is a sad comment on the inadequacy of current archaeological legislation, that due to the lack of access to the site before development, comparatively little is known about the very building which this substantial sewer served; in the very limited and hurried salvage excavation permitted, no stratigraphic links between the two could be established. However, it was possible to suggest that the structure may have formed part of the legionary bath complex, of which a portion was already known in St. Samson's Square to the south-west; its general position within the fortress is comparable with several examples discussed in von Petrikovits's recent study of the internal buildings of such legionary establishments.

Various appendices include a discussion of the functioning of the sewer, the geological materials and a small amount of stratified pottery. More care should have been taken here, when quoting the dates of parallels in Gillam's pottery type-series, to ensure that the published ones are corrected to take into account the revised chronology for the Northern frontier in the later second and early third century upon which Gillam's dating is now based. The traditional view of military production of the so-called York 'legionary ware' is questioned together with its accepted date-span; stemming from this, subsequent research by J. R. Perrin within the York Trust, has amplified this view and shown that production continued well after the departure of the Ninth Legion from York until the early third century at least.

In a separate fascicule (17/1) MacGregor and others discuss the small finds from the site including gaming counters and personal ornaments such as intaglios and bone pins, together with glass vessels and a fragment of silk cloth. The general range of material invites comparison with that tipped in the disused Wroxeter *piscina*, some of which undoubtedly represents the sweepings from the adjacent baths. However, the amount of material here is insufficient to merit a separate publication.

The third fascicule under review here (14/1) comprises discussion by Buckland and others of the environmental evidence, particularly that of the insect fauna, from the sewer. One implication from the study of such material is that the water feeding the sewer came primarily from internal as opposed to roadside drains, presumably a substantial flow from the baths, with latrine sediments attested in only one of the side-passages. There are also several environmental pointers towards the existence of a closed aqueduct system bringing water from a source beyond the immediate environs of York. However much of the evidence is ambiguous and its interpretation necessarily highly speculative for several reasons; one factor is that it is impossible to be sure how much of this light-weight environmental material had been washed in from elsewhere within the fortress. Furthermore, due to the deplorable restrictions already mentioned, which were imposed on the above-ground excavations, no satisfactory control environmental samples could be taken from the Roman building above the sewer. Indeed, had such work been possible, it might well have resolved, among other problems, the tantalizing question of the nature and source of the stored grain implied by the beetle evidence.

All the fascicules are accompanied by summaries in French and German. Unfortunately, the quality of the former would not grace an 'O' level paper. The white covers, which will quickly soil, are an unhappy choice for a series of reports which will undoubtedly be much handled. However these criticisms should not disguise the many commendable aspects of these reports, and in particular the enormous technical difficulties overcome in the excavation of an uncomfortably cramped subterranean structure such as the sewer. Moreover the excellent quality of production, combining careful textual editing, pleasing layout, and clear and ample illustrative material has set a high standard of prompt publication for the whole series.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, York.

VIVIEN G. SWAN.

3/2. *The Legionary Fortress: A. B. Sumpter and S. Coll, Interval Tower SW5 and the South-west Defences: Excavations 1972-75*. 40 pp., 12 pls., 13 figs. £2.50. 1977.

It is rare, if not unique, for an archaeologist to witness in his lifetime the re-excavation of a site which he himself examined. Such is the case for the writer regarding part of the site dealt with in this fascicule. In 1972-75, the years covered by the excavation under review, a much larger area was available for examination than when I dug there in 1960. It was logical to open up the whole of the tower (I was able to examine only the front two-thirds of it) and so present in its entirety for the first time in a modern archaeological context the complete plan of one of the polygonal towers on the south-west front of the legionary fortress of *Eboracum*. The drawings and photographs of this are dramatic.

The present report causes me no embarrassment, for, with only two exceptions, the latest excavators have in general accepted my earlier interpretations, though, because of the improved facilities of the York Archaeological Trust for technical and scientific examination of the turf and soils (pp. 67-6) and building materials (pp. 80-81), this report is superior. My major omission—an inexplicable oversight—was failing to recognise inside the polygonal tower two of the six post-holes of a Flavian timber tower. The oversight is the more extraordinary in that it was my Davygate excavation of 1955-58 which produced evidence for the first of these towers. Now that we have the precise sites of two such towers on the south-west front of the fortress, Mr. Sumpter's calculations suggest that we should expect ten of them on this front, spaced at intervals of approximately 33 m.

Both to the south and to the north of the area which I excavated further areas were available for examination. The work done on these is meticulously reported in this fascicule. To the south in 1972 Mr. Coll was able to excavate an area which, despite considerable interference and destruction caused by cellars and modern drains, eventually supplied him with a profile of the entire ditch system relating to the fortress on this south-west front. Mr. Coll found four such systems. The first he confidently ascribed to between c. 71 and Trajan, and the second to the period from Trajan to the third century. About the other two he was more cautious. The third he 'thought to date from or after the mid-3rd century . . . and the installation of the polygonal-fronted interval towers' (p. 64), while the fourth was 'undated' and 'appeared to have been a last attempt to refurbish the defences in Roman times' (p. 64).

The second part of the report covers the area of my earlier excavation together with a considerable additional area behind the tower. On pp. 84-85 Mr. Sumpter has drawings which he calls six 'schematic phase plans' and which show simply but most effectively the evolution of this part of the site. The first two phases are linked with the wooden Flavian interval tower and show part of the intervallum roadway and hints of at least one wooden building associated with them. Phase 3 shows a large rectangular building straddling the intervallum roadway. In my excavation I saw only the south wall of this and suggested—incorrectly as it has proved—that it might have formed part of the stone revetment of the Flavian rampart. Mr. Sumpter infers (p. 72) that this was a stone building: the foundations look too flimsy to support more than a wooden one. Phases 4-6 are linked with the fourth-century polygonal tower. Phase 4 revealed an intervallum road, a culvert (similar to that discovered in my Davygate excavation), sidewalk and the outer wall of some intra-mural building of relatively poor masonry which suggested to the excavator that it might have had a timber superstructure. In the last two phases (5 and 6), dated by pottery to c. A.D. 360 it seemed that this building had either been demolished or had collapsed.

Of the periods before and after the Roman—Prehistoric (pp. 65 and 82) and Anglian, Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval (pp. 90-91)—little was found. Mention might have been made of the fact that in my excavation I found a timber-lined well in the Middle Chamber.

This is altogether a most satisfying and readable report, adding materially to our understanding of these fourth-century towers. Their date and purpose still remains unsolved (p. 89): Mr. Sumpter has, in my opinion, been sensibly cautious in leaving open what are still two of the major problems relating to them. The illustrations, both line-drawings and photographs, are of high quality. Tribute should also be paid to the Council for British Archaeology (publishers) and the Ebor Press (printers) for a most aesthetic presentation.

York.

L. P. WENHAM.

G. E. AYLMER and REGINALD CANT (eds.), *A History of York Minster*, Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. xii and 586, illus., £9.75.

This handsome volume will receive a warm welcome both locally and nationally as a full, study of a major cathedral, its clergy and daily life over a period of 1350 years from 627 to the present day. Its appearance and the quality of its illustrations suit the importance of the subject and the reputation of its publishers. Most of the 182 plates are from Royal Commission photographs and only in the less distinct reproduction of details of the stained glass (apart from the fine colour frontispiece) and seals do they fail to convey the clarity of the originals. The architectural illustrations are particularly attractive, especially Pl. 55 of the choir and Pls. 69 and 71 of the central tower. The juxtaposition of photographs of a design on the tracing floor above the chapter house vestibule and of the resulting window (Pl. 46) is very welcome. The six plans are clearly reproduced.

The editors have drawn on the knowledge of a distinguished group of scholars and balanced well the allocation of space to the various topics. Nearly half the volume deals with the Minster's history, recounted by Professors Brooke and Dobson up to 1500, by Dr. Cross and Mrs. Owen to 1822, and by Professor Chadwick and Canon Cant for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The medieval architecture is described by Dr. Gee, with the first detailed account to appear of the early Norman cathedral, and Dr. John Harvey. There is a long chapter on the stained glass by David O'Connor and Jeremy Haselock. Sections on music since the Reformation, on memorials, and on the Minster Library are respectively contributed by Professor Peter Aston, Professor Aylmer and by Mr. Bernard Barr. All the chapters have involved much original research, and if any stand out above the rest it is only a personal choice to praise Barrie Dobson for his history of the Minster from 1215 to 1500, John Harvey for a stimulating study of the later medieval architecture, and Professor Aylmer for an anecdotal account of those commemorated by monuments and of the artists responsible.

The thoroughness of the research involved in preparing this volume and the fullness of the illustrations is so impressive that any criticism must seem petty. It is offered in full acknowledgment that this will be for many years the definitive source for information on the Minster's history and architecture in which students will expect to find

everything relevant to those topics. A general criticism is the absence of chronological lists of archbishops and deans; although most of their names and dates can be extracted from the text, it would have been helpful to have had a table for reference. In view of the frequent mentions of buildings around the cathedral a plan of the close should have been included, especially since Professor Dobson finds Benson's plan inadequate. Even though there is little ancient plate or medieval woodwork a comprehensive history should have included an account of them. The Horn of Ulphus is only mentioned in the caption to an illustration and as an attraction to seventeenth-century visitors; the silver cross seized from the Bishop of Callipolis in 1688 and the York Virgin are not mentioned at all.

The two chapters on architecture will leave the reader still confused about the probable site of Edwin's church and its pre-Norman successors. Only from one plan will he learn that the present Minster lies over the remains of the Roman legionary headquarters. He will be misled if he assumes that a crypt is known for certain at St. Peter the Little or that the church restored by Thomas of Bayeux was burnt in 1079. More reasons might have been given for believing that the chapter house once had a stone vault supported by a central pillar. John Harvey as usual conveys the impression that he knew the architects of the Minster personally, or at least that his theories about them are all confirmed facts. The most controversial items in his well-argued section are the suggestions that the nave aisles were intended to be roofed with gables over each bay, as at Troyes, and that the pulpitum is of c. 1420 rather than 50–80 years later, as is usually assumed. It would have been desirable to have included the MS view of York which he spends p. 177 in discussing. Among other spires it may show the earlier west front and the lofty central tower which partly fell in 1407, perhaps as impressive with its lead-covered spire as those at Lincoln and St. Paul's, and loftier than its successor, left incomplete without the intended bell chamber. However it was not the cathedral building but the status of the see of York which Innocent III described as 'longe maior et dignior quam Parisiensis' (p. 127) as the context shows.

Professor Dobson might perhaps have mentioned the fortification of the close in 1285 and the execution of Archbishop Scrope, rather than leave readers to find this in the stained glass chapter. His location of Peter Prison at the present Minster Gates is surely incorrect. Lack of discussion of the original connection with the cathedral of St. Leonard's Hospital is presumably due to lack of space. Professor Aylmer should not have given several lines to discussing the identity of Jack the Ripper and the name of Richard Fisher's horse when more relevant material is excluded. Perhaps Canon Cant was wise to omit reference to the partial demolition of the Bedern Chapel in 1961 but he ought to have mentioned the dissolution of the college of the vicars' choral in 1936, since Barrie Dobson was able to devote several pages to its origins and early history.

The impressions of one reader, necessarily unqualified to comment on all the many aspects surveyed, will be unbalanced when so massive a work deserves the concentrated study of a team of reviewers. Interesting sidelights appear throughout—how Dean Cockburn was deprived for simony, why stained glass from Rouen is found in York windows, which organ was burnt in 1829, that of 1634 or its replacement of 1691, what is the true story of the sale of rare books from the library to the American dealer, Rosenbach, in 1930. The volume is far better value for money and incorporates the results of far more research than many more pretentious works offered at a comparable price. In spite of the minor errors and possible omissions which he has felt obliged to point out, this reviewer is very grateful that the work put into this history by its contributors, and by its editors, Professor Aylmer and Canon Cant, has found publication in so worthy a form.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, York.

R. M. BUTLER

JOHN BARNATT. *Stone Circles of the Peak*. Turnstone Books. London, 1978. pp. 208, 113 figs. £4.95.

This work is described as 'a guide book with a difference' and indeed it is. The book is silly. Readers who are ley-liners or students of the para-normal will enjoy reading it but other potential purchasers should be warned that the book does not contain what might be expected.

When the author writes that the only comprehensive book about the stone circles of this country does not provide individual descriptions of sites he is correct and when he claims that his own book 'is an attempt to rectify the situation' for the Peak District one's hopes rise. A good catalogue of the circles, ring-cairns and kerb-circles that crowd into this fascinating region is certainly needed and the tragedy is that the author, who apparently has done a lot of fieldwork, has wilfully wasted the opportunity to accomplish this.

There is no archaeological account of each ring. Nor is there much prehistory. No distinction is made between true megalithic rings like Ninestone Close, embanked stone circles such as Barbrook I, enclosed cremation cemeteries of which Wet Withens may be an example, or the various ring-cairns like Totley Moor with no standing stones at all. None of the many excavations is considered and the reader is left uninformed of what was found at Arbor Low, Barbrook II, the Bull Ring, Doll Tor, Froggatt Edge, the Nine Ladies, Ninestone Close, Totley Moor, Tunstead and Wet Withens. When archaeology is mentioned the only radiocarbon assay from a Derbyshire stone circle, the date of 1500 \pm 150 b.c. from Barbrook II is quoted wrongly (p. 111).

The reason for such omissions is obvious. The slim Bibliography ignores the general studies of W. J. Andrew, Lewis, Bullock and Allcroft. In their places are writers best categorised as having 'fringe' interests: John Michell with his ley-lines, Michael Dames of the corn-dollies and Francis Hitching who believes that 'perhaps as early as 10,000 B.C., scattered experiments were going on in the positioning of stones and circles'.

What, then, will the reader get? Mr. Barnatt, who dismisses the burial-cairns inside the rings as intrusive features wonders why there were so many circles in the Peak District. It not occurring to him that these might have been, 'family' monuments put up over a long period of time, he proposes instead that they were 'for the priesthood, where they could carry out complicated observations . . .' (p. 40). 'Their builders had an obsession with the basic numbers 1 to 10' (p. 46) and designed rings 'with a hidden simple shape, such as a pentagon or hexagon . . . to form a 'temple' of symbolic harmony' (p. 47). He believes that the circles were integrated into a grand pattern of symmetrical triangles across the landscape. His Great Triangle (pp. 180–5) has Arbor Low at its base, and Wet Withens and the Bull Ring at the other corners nine miles away. A minor triangle extends towards the Seven Stones but its counterpart, presumably because its apex is halfway down the precipitous Rushup Edge, is not specified. The fact

that many of these 'lines' miss their claimed targets by up to 200 yards, quite serious when the Seven Stones is only 50 ft. across, merely demonstrates the fallacy of the reasoning here.

It is no pleasure to review a book so adversely, particularly as it does contain some helpful plans and itineraries, but so much nonsense is appearing these days that its lack of logic needs to be exposed. Mr. Barnatt is fully entitled to his view (p. 54) that the builders of stone circles 'believed in underlying patterns and forces governing the landscape' but his archaeology and astronomy will have to be improved before he convinces me. As he remarks of the 'life-force' with its associated ley-lines, triangles, macrocosmic geometry and astrology (p. 58), 'many people have talked about this force, but as yet it remains elusive'. So do flying saucers.

Hull College of Higher Education

AUBREY BURL.

M. L. BAUMBER, *A Pennine Community on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution*, published privately, 1977, pp. xii and 162; illus., n.p.

The period between the Restoration and the mid-eighteenth century has been too much neglected by general and local historians, whose eyes have been fixed a little too firmly on either the Civil War and Interregnum or the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions. Mr. Baumber's study of Keighley and Haworth between 1660 and 1740 is therefore refreshingly unusual, and he has in general succeeded where others have not troubled to tread.

In a well-documented and precise book of seven chapters Mr. Baumber has examined the essentials of his local community: landownership and social structure; the dual economy of farming and cloth manufacture; the local trades and crafts which provided the necessities of life; communications; links with dealers from other places; houses and cottages; food, drink and pastimes; population, disease and mortality; religious beliefs and practice; and schooling. The material is cogently organised, and the references to modern work show that the author is aware of the problems posed by recent research. Thus he is not afraid to get to grips with such matters as relative prosperity, the quality of housing and feeding, and the expectation of life.

For his material the author has gone to a wide range of sources, most of them unpublished: parish registers, tax assessments, visitation returns and (above all) wills and inventories, which he has used to especially good effect. He has also examined deeds, estate papers and maps, as well as the buildings which survive from the period, though in a book written by one possessing an obviously close acquaintance with the neighbourhood, the treatment of topography could have been more effective. Moreover, whilst the author handles his sources critically, he is sometimes a little too close to them.

But these points do not substantially detract from the value of an impressive piece of local history, which enables the reader to sense some of the realities of life in pre-industrial Yorkshire. This Pennine community may be part of the world Mr. Peter Laslett has lost, but it is also part of a world which Mr. Baumber's careful study has gone a long way towards recreating.

University of Leeds

G. C. F. FORSTER

FRED HOYLE, *On Stonehenge*, Heinemann Educational Books, London 1977, pp. 128, illus., £4.50.

The title, even more than the book, is short and to the point; Fred Hoyle visits Stonehenge with his family, thinks about it—sometimes quite hard—during twenty-five years, and now, for the benefit of fellow visitors, sets out the views to which he has come. In brief, he says that Stonehenge I was concerned with observations of sun and moon and the prediction of eclipses, while Stonehenge III was a ritual place set up at a time when eclipses could be listed on the so-called 19-year cycle. The site was carefully chosen for its latitude and the evenness of its horizon by priestly astronomers with sun, moon and the lunar nodes as a trinity of gods like Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

The book has six chapters and an appendix to which the spherical trigonometry is relegated; the chief matter of the book starts in the middle of page 29 in chapter 2, and the lucid text from that point repays close attention. The author assumes the reader to be ignorant of the observable motions of the heavenly bodies but familiar with today's received ideas that the earth spins on a fixed polar axis, the moon orbits round it and both together orbit the sun—two startling contrast with the beliefs of the people of Stonehenge and of practically all human kind until recently. The data for Stonehenge I are carefully set out and alignments with sun and moon on the horizon put to the test. The 56 Aubrey holes—one for each week of 13 periods (day or night)—represent the solar year. By imagining himself the Holy Stonehenge Astronomer, humping the sacred images of sun, moon and lunar nodes from hole to hole according to sacred rule, and checking by sunrise and moonrise observations for a week around each solstice, the author is able to deal with the practical questions—just how would it have worked?—and to put his reader into a position genuinely to judge. The author tries to put his conclusions into a cultural context in the 17 pages of chapter 6, so that the essence of the book occupies only 82 pages, for which £4.50 might seem a high price even if the quality of exposition put before the reader is out of the ordinary.

Among the incidental illustrations is Blake's plate 70 from *Jerusalem*, which has the new moon cradling the old moon in her arms viewed through a huge trilithon beneath which stand three of Blake's numerous *betes noires*—Bacon, Newton and Locke. Hoyle calls it an eclipse; I don't think he sees eclipses where there are none in the rest of his book, but since this came in the first few pages it did produce uneasy feelings that the reader might be in for a feast of codology. Those pages would have been profitably replaced by a small extension to the exposition later in the book of the geometry of sun, moon and star motions relative to a local horizon. It is notorious that the village cobbler would not stick to his last but must needs act the wordy philosopher, and one more readily accepts that Sir Fred should glance up now and then from his avowed task of testing the hypothesis that Stonehenge I was an observatory and eclipse predictor because he writes briefly and well. This little book is worthy of close attention; if the author's conclusion is sound, we have to look for traces of other sites and artefacts which that conclusion defines.

Eaglescliffe

R. E. GODDARD

A. RONALD BIELBY, *Churches and Chapels of Kirklees*, Huddersfield 1978. Pp. 116, pls. 107 + map, £1.

The Libraries and Museums Service of Kirklees Metropolitan Council are to be congratulated on sponsoring a publication which not only reflects great credit on themselves and on their author but which should serve as a model and an incentive to other local councils to go and do likewise. The standard of production is faultless, the photographs, all of which are the work of the author, are of the highest quality and the price is such that need not deter even the canniest of Yorkshiremen.

Kirklees Metropolitan District including not only Huddersfield but the extensive and interesting parish of Holmfirth in the south, ranging from the Pennine hills in the west to the more gentle fields of Flockton in the east, and extending north of the Calder to take in Dewsbury, Batley and several smaller towns, presents a rich and varied region for architectural research in which the churches and chapels form a notable group. Although, as Mr. Bielby points out, there is here no cathedral or other nationally famous ecclesiastical monument, there are buildings enough to provide good examples of the development of church planning from the 'two-room' pre-Reformation churches, as here described, through the single and double unit plans of the 18th century and the Gothic Revival, to the 'modern one-room type'. Such mediaeval churches as All Saints, Batley, and All Hallows, Kirkburton, with its remarkable early benches, lead us on to the typically 18th-century Holy Trinity, Holmfirth, and the delightfully Gothic tower of All Saints, Dewsbury, none of which are on the usual tourist's itinerary. An old photograph of Christ Church, Linthwaite, of 1828, reminds us of the days when central pulpits were by no means uncommon in parish churches, a feature now almost entirely obliterated by the Gothic Revivalists, whose own work is in turn in danger at the hands of the leaders of liturgical fashion.

Nonconformist meeting-houses are very competently dealt with, divided as the former group into four sections: the earliest buildings; the nineteenth-century, mainly classical, chapels with elaborate musical arrangements, here termed 'The "Messiah" chapels'; the Gothic Revival; and the recent period. The reader is not overburdened with descriptions of the different denominations although sufficient is said to explain their origins. It would perhaps have been desirable to distinguish between the General and Particular Baptists: of the latter, whose chapel at Salendine Nook is illustrated, it was said 'They gave no quarter to an Arminian; and as for an open communionist, they could detect him almost at the distance of a Sabbath-day's journey'. Among the more notable chapels included are Lydgate Chapel (rebuilt 1768 not 1695), the Friends' meeting-house nearby at Wooldale (though the seating is typical only of present Quaker practice) and the former Methodist chapel at Netherthong. The two-decker pulpit at Flockton is rightly acclaimed, though the inferior glazed screen alongside it is a warning of the risks to which chapel interiors are particularly prone. Methodists will be pleased to find John Nelson's study given the prominence it deserves but the absence of any reference to the former Wesleyan chapel in Queen Street, Huddersfield, now the 'Arts Centre', is ominous: this is one of the most important of Methodist buildings in the district and must not be allowed to be quietly forgotten. Threats of demolition hang over the chapels at Longwood and Thurstonland, both of which are illustrated, and most recently endangered is that gem of Victorian chapels the Upper Independent at Heckmondwike. Although the problems of retaining some of our greatest churches and chapels should not be underrated, if we are not to be reduced to one or other of the 'modern' worship-rooms illustrated, one of which has all the mystery of a mortuary and another combines the loveliness of a lecture hall with the amenities of a public bath house, a wider appreciation of the variety and interest in our existing buildings is imperative. Mr. Bielby's book should go a long way towards fulfilling this necessity.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, London.

CHRISTOPHER STELL.

JAN FILIP, *Celtic Civilisation and its Heritage*, Prague: Collet's Academia, reprinted 1977, pp. 231, 52 figs, 40 pls. £2.95 (paperback), £4.95 (hardback).

With the exception of the final chapter the book appears as when it was first published in 1962. In view of the advances made in the intervening fifteen years a total revision would have been preferable, but instead a list of printed works and some discussion of their significance appears as an appendix to bring the text up to date. The translation is at times a little stiff and some of the plates of location material recall the haziness of newspaper photographs, but the line drawings are good and so are the plates of objects. One serious fault is the retention of the original bibliography, for to locate recent works the reader must scan the appendix, where these are listed in a somewhat haphazard way.

The 1962 text is basically about the Iron Age in non-classical Europe, so that an Irishman or a Welshman may feel that his own Celtic heritage is sadly neglected. In fact there is a brief summary of the survival of Celtic culture in the British Isles, but the author is wise not to pursue this in depth, as he is chiefly concerned with the Continental Celts. The chief value of the book, in fact, is its detailed treatment of the Hallstatt and La Tène cultures, with their settlements, artifacts and burials. From the beginning these two cultures are identified with the historic Celts and it is perhaps one of the failings of the book that written evidence usually seems to be favoured over the archaeological material. A more objective approach was not expected in 1962, but we might justifiably ask for one in 1977.

The concluding remarks which appear as an appendix are chiefly useful for their bibliographical references, although the significance of the ideas which recent works have expressed is not always discussed. In spite of the impressive list of British works nothing is done to qualify the 'Marnian invasion' hypothesis which was favoured when the book made its first appearance. Also, considering the high regard in which the author holds the 'typological-chronological method' it is a great pity that he was not more informative about the very important work done by F. R. Hodson on the material from the cemetery at Münsingen-Rain. Here a chronological sequence of graves based upon an horizontal stratification has produced firm grounds for tracing the development of La Tène metalwork over a long period of time, yet Professor Filip appears to prefer the Bohemian cemeteries where the chronology is not so securely based.

Although the material discussed is mainly from Central Europe there is much here of great relevance to Yorkshire archaeology, for it is in the eastern part of the county that much work has been taking place recently on cemeteries of the Arras Culture, a La Tène group of the insular Iron Age, while in the north the Stanwick fortifications constitute a monument comparable in size to the largest of the great Continental oppida.

In spite of its age this book must still be required reading for the student who wishes to see the Iron Age in its broad setting, and the paperback format should bring it within the range of his or her pocket. No doubt the material is dealt with too generally for some tastes, but it is interesting to see the subject treated without reference to the multitude of minor cultural divisions which must be one of the greatest deterrents to any one considering studies in prehistory.

Driffield

JOHN S. DENT.

M. E. INGRAM, *The Manor of Bridlington and its Lords Feofees*, Bridlington: the Lords Feofees, 1977, pp. 164, illus., Price not stated.

This book, compiled over a number of years and published by the Lords Feofees in connection with the Queen's Jubilee year, is an historical account of the manor of Bridlington from the 1080s to the present day. The author has divided the publication into three parts, each part also being split into several chapters dealing with specific items relating to the descent of the manor.

In the first two chapters the work deals generally with the manor as it might have appeared when written into the Domesday Book and then discusses its ownership from c. 1113 under the Priors of Bridlington until the dissolution in 1537. After this the writer continues to explain how the land and harbour were leased to various individuals, under the supervision of the Crown. He then introduces the reader to the founding of the Feofees in 1636, who they were, and how the manor was purchased from the Ramsey brothers, to whom it had been given by James I.

Mr. Ingram then gives a rather voluminous and detailed account of the day-to-day running of the manor under the Feofees. The material contained herein must have taken much research to collect. Everything seems to be included from law suits, law and order, agricultural matters and all affairs dealing with the harbour. Most of the evidence used was taken from documents still preserved within the seventeenth-century town chest, and from reading the historical accounts it would seem that all the portfolios, etc. stored there were most scrupulously read and carefully transcribed. There is also a wealth of information relating to the manorial involvement during the Civil War and the Dutch Wars, along with the Feofees' appointments of all local officials from constables to street cleaners.

The historical account ends with the introduction, during the 1850s, of the Local Government Board and the inevitable decline in the administrative powers of the Feofees.

In Part Three Mr. Ingram discusses the Bayle or Priory Gatehouse, built in 1388, and its subsequent use. He mentions that it had always been an administrative centre and was later used by the Feofees as the town hall and prison.

The book is illustrated with several monochrome photographs, line-drawings and sketches. One of the most interesting is a sketch of a branding iron used to mark the manorial bull with the town's coat-of-arms.

This book will illustrate to many people that Bridlington was not always a modern holiday resort but has a most varied and involved history. In the past, due to the endeavours of the Lords Feofees, the town and harbour became extremely important as a trading centre and port. Bridlington was, and still is, fortunate in having such a body as the Lords Feofees, and Mr. Ingram has, in this most interesting publication, successfully brought these facts to the reader's attention. This is a text book in its own right. It has been exceedingly well thought out and written in such a way as to hold the attention of both student and historian alike.

North Wolds Museum, Sewerby Hall, Bridlington.

JOHN R. EARNSHAW.

W. J. SHEILS (Ed.), *Archbishop Grindal's Visitation, 1575: Comperta and Detecta Book*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province 4, University of York, 1977, pp. xiii + 110, £2.

Less than a fortnight after he had reached Cawood to take up his office as Archbishop of York in August 1570 Edmund Grindal, himself a northerner by birth, wrote to William Cecil to pass on his first impressions of his province. He feared 'that the greatest part of our gentlemen are not well affected to godly religion, and that among the people there are many remanents of the old. They keep holydays and fasts abrogated: they offer money, eggs etc. at the burial of their dead: they pray on beads etc: so as this seemeth to be, as it were, another church, rather than a member of the rest'. 'And for the little experience I have of this people', he continued, 'methinketh, I see in them three evil qualities; which are, great ignorance, much dulness to conceive better instructions, and great stiffness to retain their wonted errors. I will labour, as much as I can, to cure every of these, committing the success to God.'¹ This visitation of the diocese of York made in what proved to be his fifth and final year as archbishop before his translation to Canterbury demonstrates in a graphic form the essential accuracy of Grindal's preliminary judgement.

The 1575 visitation, carried out by prebendaries from York Minster or other ecclesiastical officials closely associated with the archbishop, was clearly intended to cover the four archdeaconries of York, Cleveland, the East Riding and Nottingham, though the records for the archdeaconry of Nottingham have not survived. The volume as it now stands contains presentments which summarise the bills returned by churchwardens in reply to the archbishop's visitation articles for some five hundred Yorkshire parishes or chapelries. Far and away the most usual offences committed by the laity seem to have been the traditional moral ones—fornication, adultery, begetting or giving birth to an illegitimate child. Lay people also had frequently been refusing to pay church dues or withholding church property. Non-attendance at church or at communion, which need not have been exclusively for religious reasons, constituted merely the third commonest fault. The clergy's most usual dereliction of duty significantly lay in their failure to provide quarterly sermons. In an area plagued with impropriations now in lay as well as clerical hands the visitors not surprisingly discovered many chancels in decay.

The visitation completed, the commissioners expected offenders to go to York to report their compliance with instructions previously given and around two-thirds of those summoned actually did appear before the archbishop's court, a good record of ecclesiastical law enforcement at this time which, however, may also point to a rather low initial level of detection of offences in the parishes. As the results of the visitation came in, Grindal can have been under few illusions about the state of protestantism in his diocese. In the absence of an educated preaching ministry

he did what he could to get his clergy to undertake regular catechising, but none knew better than he that only through frequent preaching could backward areas of Yorkshire be won over to professing what he saw as 'godly religion'.

In addition to setting the visitation in its context of the administrative and judicial procedure of the Elizabethan church in his short but valuable introduction, Dr. Sheils has supplied a transcript of the text which will be of great interest to ecclesiastical and local historians alike. He has also appended a very full index of persons and places. The Borthwick Institute, furthermore, deserves to be congratulated on producing so scholarly a volume at so modest a price.

University of York.

CLAIRE CROSS

¹ W. Nicholson, ed., *The Remains of Edmund Grindal*, Parker Society, Cambridge, 1843, 325-6.

NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY, *Jonathan Gray and Church Music in York, 1770-1840*, York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Borthwick Papers no. 51, 1977, pp. 32, illus. 60p.

As befits a younger contemporary of William Mason, and one who shared Mason's zeal for the reform of church music, Jonathan Gray (1779-1837) was a man of wide interests and extraordinarily diverse abilities. He was an alderman of York, a lawyer, and a talented amateur musician who still found time to cultivate his interests in literature, politics, philosophy, architecture, astronomy, and meteorology. He involved himself in various religious causes; he agitated for social reform; he founded the *Yorkshire Gazette*. He was a member of an influential group of York Evangelicals, and, as Nicholas Temperley shows in this study, he devoted much thought and energy to the reform of parochial church music. He was also a writer on various musical matters, mainly concerned with the church, and his descriptions of and comments on the organs of York Minster, four of which he himself had played, provide an invaluable source of information for the music historian. Hardly less interesting to the musicologist is the series of letters containing descriptions of musical services, both Catholic and Protestant, Gray had witnessed during a tour of the continent in 1818. Yet despite his achievements as a musical reformer, and his importance to historians as a musical commentator, Gray has been almost entirely forgotten; as Professor Temperley points out, he has never secured an entry in any standard work of musical reference. This essay, which deals principally with Gray's influence in the field of church music, is therefore one of considerable interest and importance.

The study has been carefully researched and is extremely well written. It paints a fascinating picture of parochial church music in early nineteenth-century York, of Gray and his circle of friends, and of the aspirations of the York group of Evangelicals. Professor Temperley's main concern is with Gray's involvement in the reform of church music, and the bulk of the essay is devoted to Gray's work in making possible congregational participation in the sung parts of the liturgy, one of the principal aims of the Evangelical party. As Professor Temperley shows, psalm chanting had hitherto been regarded as the province of the trained singer. In a few parish churches the psalms were chanted by a choir, in imitation of cathedral practice; elsewhere they were chanted by the parish clerk. The great problem facing Gray and his fellow reformers was that of devising methods of pointing which could be used for chanting by an unrehearsed congregation. How this was achieved, the resultant growth of congregational chanting in York churches, and the more general musical reforms for which Gray and others successfully fought are all discussed in this excellent study which contributes much new information to our knowledge of parochial church music in York and elsewhere during the early years of the nineteenth century.

Though the essay concerns itself primarily with Gray's work as a musical reformer, some account is given of his family background, his involvement generally in local affairs, and his other musical activities. Professor Temperley draws attention to his association with the York Minster organist, Matthew Camidge, and quotes a contemporary opinion that Gray 'had some skill as a composer' and 'played upon the organ with great facility of execution'. Temperley seems to be in error, however, when he writes that in 1834 Gray played an important part in the specification and design of the new Minster organ. No source is given for this information, but the date must surely be wrong for the organ built by Elliot and Hill to Camidge's specification was completed in September 1833. It is a pity that the scope of the essay precludes discussion of Gray's comments on the Minster organs, and allows so little space for his descriptions of the music he witnessed during his travels. Both topics are worthy of examination, and the latter has not to my knowledge been dealt with elsewhere. Perhaps Professor Temperley will one day follow up his present excellent paper with a paper on the letters Gray wrote during his continental tour of 1818.

University of East Anglia.

PETER ASTON

ROGER A. E. WELLS, *Dearth and Distress in Yorkshire 1793-1802*, York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Borthwick Papers no. 52, 1978, pp. 49, 80p.

Dearth and Distress in Yorkshire 1793-1802 is an extremely well-researched and documented study of two periods of famine: 1794-95 when a substandard harvest followed 'by a very low wheat crop', led to price rises of from 52s. to 180s. a quarter in some places; 1799-1801 when a 'cold and wet' summer and wet harvest weather resulted in similar swingeing price rises. What this meant for the working class is dealt with in detail. In many parts of the county distressed workers engaged in food rioting and forced sales in the way described so marvellously by E. P. Thompson in *The Making of the English Working Class*. Here again is the old, familiar, sad tale of suffering, and Mr. Wells hardly misses a thing. He is right in stressing the fact that the rural labourer was better placed than his urban counterpart in some respects; that he could resort to crime (or more crime) to help feed his family, and that he could do so with relative impunity. It is a certain factor in any explanation of why Hodge was less militant than the town dweller.

Mr. Wells deals at length with the responses to the crises of the government and the local authorities, and studies the role of the magistracy and the Volunteers in restoring and preserving public order. The magistracy come out well from the story from a humanitarian point of view, as do the jurors and Grand Jurors who refused to convict or find true bills. Mr. Wells would seem to be skating on thin ice, however, with his statement that 'The magistracy also discriminated when deciding whether to indict at the Sessions or the Assizes'. He substantiates this by saying that 'The majority' of the cases he notes went to Sessions. But this could as easily have been the result of a lack of

evidence or gravity, as a deliberate intent to go easy on offenders. Surely J.P.'s wanting to be merciful would not recommend indictment *at all* as a general rule. Once a decision to prosecute *was taken*, the accused went to whichever court statute dictated, and all the more serious crimes (all the capital crimes) had to go to Assizes. If Mr. Wells had evidence that Justices deliberately charged men with lesser (presumably non-capital as against capital) crimes, he should have used it.

There are a few typographical errors and some very ugly sentences in Mr. Wells's work—for example, 'The use of political grievances as part and parcel of the radicals' political platform was more than simple inextricably inter-mixed'. And there is one howler; the author, contending that 'the experiences of the nineties were, of vital importance towards [*sic*] the growth of a working class political consciousness' goes on to say that although a '*mass movement*' of protest evaporated with the return of prosperity 'This does mean that the experiences were forgotten'!

The two appendices in Mr. Wells's pamphlet are extremely unsatisfactory as they are presented, and there seems to be no obvious reason why this is so. Appendix A gives 'the cost of average weekly diets . . . for a family with two children' from 1794 to 1801, but for method of calculating the figures one is curtly referred to a D.Phil. thesis. The four tables making up Appendix B show either the weekly deficit or surplus remaining to four individuals, for whom wage rates have been found, and two groups of workers, after a 'minimum subsistence diet' had been purchased. Again we are not told how the calculations have been made, and the tables as they stand tell us little beyond the fact that times were very bad. Take the case of John Atkinson, tilter of Kirkstall Forge, for example. What did he earn? We are not told either in the tables or the text. Was he single or married, and if married had he a family to support? (If he had a family of any size he would seem to have been extremely well paid, having an average of 25s. 4d left over between April and June 1796 for example). Did Atkinson pay a rent, and if so did it have to come out of the surpluses? The appendices are infuriatingly incomplete, and they mar a good account of a distressing episode in Yorkshire history.

York Educational Settlement.

A. J. PEACOCK.

SHORTER NOTICES

Borthwick Institute Bulletin, I, 3, York 1977, pp. 48, 50p.

Miss Longley concludes her study of the history of archive-keeping in the Church of York, commenced in the last bulletin, with an account of the fate of the muniments of the Dean and Chapter, many of which were moved to London in 1645 and lost, and of the Vicars Choral. Douglas Willis describes the careful treatment needed to conserve a collection of documents produced in cases in the archbishop's court in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This bulletin also includes changes to the published list of parish register transcripts and a catalogue of the monastic and diocesan records of which microfilms exist in the Institute's library.

ALAN HARRIS, *The Milk Supply of East Yorkshire, 1850-1950*, Beverley, the East Yorkshire Local History Society 1977, pp. 42 + figs., 65p.

Dr. Harris studies the geography of milk production, its consumers, and the pressure by persuasion or legislation to produce cleaner milk. A detailed bibliography is provided for this specialised topic. Among subjects considered in the booklet are the first appearance of a milking machine (1837), the adulteration of milk as a normal trade practice, the rivalry in a Bridlington street of up to 20 milkmen, the little fresh milk drunk by the poor before 1930, and how consumption varied in Hull. Much attention is given to that city, where about a tenth of the 20,000 gallons drunk daily in the 1930s was produced within its boundaries. Social historians will find this work useful and the ordinary reader will be interested to learn how his daily pint came to be provided free of infection and without being watered down.

ANN WRIGHT, *Folk Lore of Holderness*, Hedon and District Local History Society, no. 4, 1978, 24 pp., illus., 50p.

This pamphlet is a general account of traditional customs and beliefs in Holderness, with sections on annual practices, as at Christmas and harvest, on the folk lore of birth, marriage, and death, on riding the stang as a warning to errant husbands, on the moon, medicine, omens and witchcraft. Although the preface tells us that every item was personally collected by the writer from people living in Holderness between 1970 and 1975, few customs are localised or documented and the only places mentioned are Aldbrough, Hedon, Holmpton, Humbleton and Hull. The actual beliefs and practices of villagers are not clearly distinguished from the author's speculations about their origins, as over the darkness of the Lucky Bod, the Green Spirit and the White Goddess. The 22 line-drawings are quaint decorations rather than illustrating the text.

YORKSHIRE BIBLIOGRAPHY 1977

By A. M. RUTHERFORD

This bibliography contains i) articles on the history and archaeology of Yorkshire noted since the 'Bibliography of Yorkshire Periodicals 1975-1976' (Y.A.J. 1977), and ii) the record and other publications of Yorkshire societies noted since the 'Yorkshire Periodicals 1974' (Y.A.J. 1975), excluding articles in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* itself.

A few relevant articles from non-Yorkshire local and specialist periodicals have been included, but no attempt has been made to list articles in national periodicals. These may be traced in British Humanities Index, and more selectively but with some foreign material included in the *Antiquaries Journal* list of 'Periodical Literature'.

The periodicals and other publications searched, and the abbreviations used are as follows.

AIY	Archaeology in Yorkshire (CBA Group 4 Newsletter, 1977)
BT	The Banyan Tree (East Yorkshire Family History Society Newsletter)
BQ	Baptist Quarterly
Blanc S	Blanc Sanglier (Richard III Society)
BA	Bradford Antiquary (Journal of the Bradford Historical & Antiquarian Society)
Brig	The Brigantian (Huddersfield & District Archaeological Society)
BSMGP	British Society of Master Glass Painters Journal
BST	Brontë Society Transactions
BI Bull	Borthwick Institute Bulletin
BP	Borthwick Papers
BTC	Borthwick Texts & Calendars
CYS	Canterbury & York Society
C & TLHS Bull	Cleveland & Teesside Local History Society Bulletin
CLHJ	Cottingham Local History Society Journal
CPRE YLDB	Council for the Protection of Rural England, Yorkshire Lower Dales Branch, Quarterly Newsletter
DAJ	Derbyshire Archaeological Journal
DRR	Durham Research Review
ERA	East Riding Archaeologist
EYLHS Bull	East Yorkshire Local History Society Bulletin
EYLHS	East Yorkshire Local History Series
FYM	Friends of York Minster Annual Report
FQ	Friends Quarterly
GSEY	Georgian Society for East Yorkshire
HAST	Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions
HFB	Higginbottom Family Bulletin
HLLSQ	Humberside Libraries Local Studies Quarterly
HUNAST	Hunter Archaeological Society Transactions (Sheffield)
Lds. AC	Leeds Arts Calendar
LH	Local Historian
LPS	Local Population Studies
MM	Mariners' Mirror
NY & CVBSGN	North Yorkshire & Cleveland Vernacular Buildings Study Group Newsletter
NYCROP	North Yorkshire Country Record Office Publications
NH	Northern History
REED	Records of Early English Drama (University of Toronto)
RH	Recusant History
RyeH	Ryedale Historian
SHS Bull	Saddleworth Historical Society Bulletin
SDAS RR	Scarborough & District Archaeological Society, Research Reports
SSP	Surtees Society Publications
TSP	Thoresby Society Publications
VA	Vernacular Architecture
VS WYG	Victorian Society, West Yorkshire Group Newsletter
WHSJ	Wakefield Historical Society Journal
WESHSYB	Wesley Historical Society, Yorkshire Branch
WYMC ARC	West Yorkshire Metropolitan County, Archaeological Research Committee, Occasional Papers
YATB	York Archaeological Trust Bulletin (Interim)
YAGP	York Art Gallery Preview
YGS	York Georgian Society Annual Report
YH	York History
YMN	York Minster Newsletter
YAS FHPSS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Family History & Population Studies Section Newsletter
YAS IHS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Industrial History Section
YAS LHSS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Local History Study Section Bulletin

YAS MS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Mediaeval Section Newsletter (Sciant Praesentes)
YAS PRS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Parish Register Section Publication
YAS PRSB	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Prehistory Research Section Bulletin
YAS RS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series
YAS WCR	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Wakefield Court Rolls Series
YA	Yorkshire Architect
YDST	Yorkshire Dialect Society Transactions
YPS	Yorkshire Philosophical Society Annual Newsletter

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